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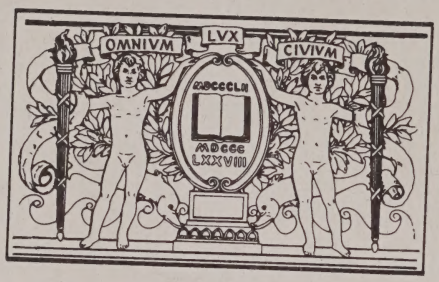

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THE

NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW.

VOL. LX.

BOSTON:
PUBLISHED BY OTIS, BROADERS, AND CO.,
No. 120 Washington Street.

1845.

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CAMBRIDGE:
METCALF AND COMPANY
PRINTERS TO THE UNIVERSITY.

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NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW.

No. CXXVI.

JANUARY, 1845.

ART. I. — 1. *A Treatise on the Medical Jurisprudence of Insanity.* By I. RAY, M. D., Superintendent of the Maine Insane Hospital. Second Edition, with Additions. Boston: W. D. Ticknor & Co. 1844. 12mo. pp. 490.

2. *Report of the Trial of Abner Rogers, Jr., indicted for the Murder of Charles Lincoln, Jr., late Warden of the Massachusetts State Prison, before the Supreme Judicial Court of Massachusetts holden at Boston, January* 30, 1844. By GEORGE TYLER BIGELOW and GEORGE BEMIS, Esqrs., Counsel for the Defendant. Boston: Little and Brown. 8vo. pp. 286.

3. *The Plea of Insanity in Criminal Cases.* By FORBES WINSLOW, Esq., Member of the Royal College of Surgeons, London. Boston: Little and Brown. 1843. 12mo. pp. 111.

THE great prevalence of the disease of insanity, and especially its remarkable apparent increase of late years, which has nowhere been more observable than in this country, have directed much attention towards it, and caused its phenomena, remedies, and consequences to be studied with great zeal and considerable success. We say *apparent* increase, because it is quite certain, that the progress of science, or a change in the system of classifying diseases, has recently brought very many cases under this category, which were formerly either ranked under a different head, or else not noticed at all; and because, from the multiplication of public

asylums for the treatment of the insane, and from the philanthropic exertions of individuals, many a poor maniac has been rescued from some dark cell in a workhouse or jail, where he raved forgotten except by one or two brutal attendants, and has been brought to swell the number of patients supported at the public charge. Make proper allowance for the recent effect of these circumstances upon the statistics of insanity, and we do not know of any sufficient proof, that the disease is now actually upon the increase, or that it wears a more threatening aspect than in former years. But the facts which have been brought to light respecting its prevalence and its consequences are afflicting enough. The vast ranges of buildings which crown one eminence in Worcester, and another in Charlestown, when we consider that they were erected solely for the accommodation of the insane in the single State of Massachusetts, with less than a million of inhabitants, though they may make us proud of the munificent philanthropy of the builders, affect us with far different feelings when we think of the pitiable fate of the multitude within their walls. In a former article,* we laid before our readers the means of estimating the probable number of the insane in this State, and it is not necessary to revise the gloomy computation. Enough was shown of the extent of the calamity to commend the subject to the earnest attention of every reflecting man and sincere philanthropist.

The facts, appalling as they may seem, may not be enough to support the startling theory which has been advanced, that insanity increases with the progress of civilization, and that the number of its victims in any country will be found in exact proportion to the diffusion of knowledge and the general cultivation of the intellectual powers among its inhabitants. Upon this hypothesis, the disease is like a canker, which appears only in the ripening fruit, while it is unseen in the blossom and the germ. Fortunately it is only a hypothesis, and one which it is impossible to substantiate by testimony, from the difficulty of ascertaining the extent to which the disease prevails among half-civilized or barbarous nations. Nor is it supported by *a priori* considerations; for excessive activity of mind — the undue tension of the intellectual powers — is far from being the only cause of the malady. Moral causes are at least

* *N. A. Review*, Vol. LVI. p. 172.

equally operative. Intemperance, licentiousness, violent passions, the more gloomy forms of superstitious belief, and many purely physical circumstances, are very active in scattering the seeds of the complaint, and all these may be as frequent and as efficient among savages as with civilized men. Unquestionably, there are certain states of cultivated society — and we fear our own social system is to be ranked among them — which are very favorable to the growth and development of this terrible disease. Where wealth and distinction pass rapidly from hand to hand, where the prizes of life are held up in glittering profusion in a race open to all comers, and where emulation, avarice, and ambition are consequently stimulated to the utmost ; where the young are most affected by such excitements, and precocity of talent is most observable and most favored ; where a general license of speculation exists on all topics, especially on politics and religion, and where advanced systems of education, and the peculiarities of democratic institutions, cause disputes upon these subjects to be carried on among all classes, even the lowest in the community, so that they fill the void in every one's life which is occupied in other countries by less agitating popular amusements; in short, where all the causes of mental anxiety and agitation are so rife, that excitement becomes habitual to the mind, and there is a perpetual longing for it ; — there insanity may be expected to become an epidemic. These circumstances may not operate as immediate and efficient causes of the disease; but they prepare the ground for it, so that every seed which may happen to fall is sure to vegetate.

But it is not our object now to discuss either the statistics or the causes of aberration of mind. The questions of law which grow up out of the existence of insanity are numerous and important, and our present purpose is to consider these legal relations of the disease. Viewed under this aspect, the topic becomes a sort of neutral ground between the professions of law and medicine; and its intrinsic difficulties are not lessened, when the conflicting opinions, principles, and hab ts of mind of two very different classes of persons are brought to bear upon it. In the publications named at the head of this article, and in other writings upon the subject, nothing appears more plainly, than the violent contrast between the lawyer's habitual veneration for fixed maxims and long established precedents, and the rather loose empiricism

of the physician, who welcomes every new case as the possible basis of a new principle, and almost every novel theory as affording at least a more accurate method of classifying the various forms of the malady. Each is naturally watchful over his own jurisdiction, and jealous of the other's encroachments; and the uninstructed multitude, belonging to neither party, look on with amazement, wondering who shall decide when doctors and judges disagree. A reviewer may be presumed to be neutral, and is therefore guilty of less arrogance than is usual, when he undertakes to be umpire between two disputants, or to write upon matters in which he has had no professional experience.

Dr. Ray's work is already favorably known to the public, having passed through one edition, and being frequently cited with respect both by lawyers and physicians. The writer is eminently qualified for his task by long professional experience, much study, and an acute and reflecting turn of mind. He has the rare merit of not dogmatizing upon a theme which has occupied so much of his attention, and which he has had so great facilities for studying, that he may reasonably suppose himself to be more able to form a correct judgment upon it than most other members either of the legal or medical fraternity. His conclusions are adopted with care, cautiously expressed, and supported by an abundant array of facts and arguments. He leans, as is natural, towards his own profession, and manifests some impatience at the pertinacity of the lawyers in applying ancient legal maxims to cases of insanity, which ought rather to be governed by principles derived from the enlarged experience and improved science of the present day. But this preference is not unreasonably indulged, and the writer often shows considerable tact and versatility of mind in contemplating his subject under its exclusively legal relations. If he has any undue bias, it proceeds from the doctrines of phrenology; for although he nowhere expresses his belief in this pretended science, and even cautiously avoids any use of its terminology, we can trace its effects here and there upon the formation of his opinions. And we cannot share the confidence with which he traces *all* the forms of mania to disease of the brain, and denies that it can ever be attributed solely to an affection of the immaterial principle. Many instances of monomania, unquestionably produced by brooding too long and too anx-

iously over one idea, seem to us to point directly to a different conclusion ; and the admitted fact, that, in numerous instances, no morbid affection of the brain can be discovered, is enough to unsettle this sweeping assertion. The induction from facts stopping short at a certain point, the completeness of the generalization must be attributed, not to observation, but to hypothesis. In the science of medicine, little reasoning is safe which goes beyond the limits of the most cautious empiricism.

The literary execution of Dr. Ray's book is of a high order. He is master of an easy, correct, and sustained style, with sufficient command of words always to indicate the exact shade of thought, and never to leave the reader in doubt as to his meaning. There is sometimes a luxuriance of expression, in describing the different manifestations of disease, which rises almost to eloquence, and not only conveys distinct ideas, but inspires strong emotion. Almost his only fault of manner is a tendency to diffuseness, which sometimes obscures the main points of his theme by a cloud of amplification. The style is elegant and flowing, but lacks point and ters - ness. The usefulness of a book, which is necessarily, in some degree, a work of reference, and not intended merely for continued perusal, is increased by compression, and a somewhat formal and distinct enunciation of the principles which the writer seeks to establish.

Of the other works now before us, one is a very full and elaborate report of the trial of Abner Rogers, Jr., one of the most important cases involving the law of insanity which have recently been decided in this country. The arguments of the counsel are given at great length, and embody a great amount of legal learning and sound reasoning upon this difficult subject. They give a satisfactory view of the leading cases, the discussion of which has determined the legal effects of the plea of insanity in criminal trials ; and the very able charge of the judge, though not reported with so much fulness, shows clearly what is the present law on this head in our own courts.

Equally satisfactory for English practice is the short treatise of Mr. Winslow, which presents a very succinct review of the recent decisions of the English judges in cases of alleged insanity, and of the speculations of medical men in regard to those cases. The trial of Oxford, who shot at the

queen, and of McNaughton, who was tried for the murder of Mr. Drummond, the private secretary of Sir Robert Peel, excited great interest, and caused much alarm lest the indulgence shown by the legal tribunals to the plea of insanity should favor the escape of notorious criminals, and defeat the ends of justice. To quiet this apprehension, the House of Lords called upon the twelve judges to state definitely what was the law upon some of the nicest questions which were involved in the discussion of these cases. The answer of the judges is given in the appendix to Mr. Winslow's book, and though expressed with great caution, lest the generality of the terms should lead to error when applied to particular cases, it indicates with sufficient clearness the legal principles applicable to the subject, of which it must be regarded as the latest and most authoritative exposition.

Although the law, as stated on this occasion, is by no means so favorable to the criminal supposed to be insane, as most medical authorities would have it, or as the advanced state of science respecting the nature and operation of many forms of mental disease would seem to justify, it is a great advance, in point of leniency to the accused, beyond the legal maxims which were deemed binding only a few years ago. The general principle of English jurispudence is, that a man is responsible for his acts so long as he is capable of distinguishing between right and wrong. On the trial of Bellingham for killing Mr. Percival, Lord Mansfield instructed the jury, that the single question for them to consider was, "whether, at the time this act was committed, the accused possessed a sufficient degree of understanding to distinguish good from evil, right from wrong, and whether murder was a crime not only against the laws of God, but the law of his country." Under this instruction, Bellingham was convicted and executed within eight days after the commission of the offence, although he was unquestionably deranged, as he fancied that the killing of the prime minister of England was the only means of obtaining redress for his imaginary wrongs. His delusion consisted in the belief, that his private affairs were matters of national concern, and that the government was bound to afford him redress, and would do so, if he could only contrive a means of bringing his case before the country. Under the circumstances, such an idea could not have

entered the head of a sane man, and the absurd choice of a means of obtaining the desired publicity for his case was a further proof of his general unsoundness of mind.

Severe as the rule of law may seem which was applied in this trial, it was not so harsh and unreasonable as the principle inculcated by English jurists at a still earlier day. Thus, Lord Hale recognized the distinction between partial and total insanity, but expressly declared that the former did not constitute an excuse for an offence which would otherwise be capital. He seemed to suppose, that the difference between the two kinds of mania was not in kind, but in degree, and, therefore, that the partially insane person might still possess as much understanding as a child fourteen years old, and consequently be liable to punishment. In conformity with this opinion, Mr. Justice Tracy declared, in 1723, that "not every kind of frantic humor" can exempt a man from punishment; but before he can be held innocent, it must be shown that he is "*totally* deprived of his understanding and memory." Under this interpretation of the law, Arnold was convicted for shooting at Lord Onslow, and sentenced to be hanged, though it was fully proved that his family and neighbours for many years had considered him insane, and that he was in the habit of declaring, "that Lord Onslow sent his devils and imps into his room at night to disturb his rest, and that he constantly plagued and bewitched him, by getting into his belly or bosom, so that he could neither eat, drink, nor sleep for him." Later observation has established the fact, that the monomaniac is quite as irrational on the particular subject of his delusion as the frenzied madman is upon all subjects. If the offence, then, with which he is charged, grew out of his particular delusion, — if an obvious connection can be traced in the mind of the accused between the two, he is equally entitled with the latter to an acquittal. Arnold would not have sought to injure Lord Onslow, if he had not been possessed by the insane notion, that his Lordship sent devils into his room to disturb his sleep ; and therefore the injustice done by his conviction is flagrant.

This was the doctrine maintained by Mr. Erskine in the celebrated trial of Hadfield, and the recognition of it by the court on that occasion constitutes the first marked improvement in the spirit of the English law on this subject. The essence of insanity was then acknowledged to consist, not in the to-

tal, or even partial, privation of memory and understanding on all subjects, but in the maniac's "immovable assumption" of certain wild fancies as realities ; and the question respecting the guilt or innocence of the accused was made to depend on the connection shown between his particular delusion and the act which he had committed. Hadfield was admitted to be sane in most respects, and his conduct while at the bar was perfectly rational. But he fancied that he was the Saviour of mankind, and that, in order to fulfil his mission, it was necessary for him to die. As he was not permitted to commit suicide, he thought he must do some act for which he would be subjected to capital punishment ; and, acting under this belief, he loaded a pistol, went to the theatre, and shot at the king. The relation here between the disease and the act is apparent, and the principle of law laid down by Mr. Erskine being acknowledged by the court, Hadfield was acquitted, and sent for the remainder of his life to Bedlam hospital. Here he remained for thirty years, showing hardly any signs of insanity, except once, when he suddenly became so furious that it was necessary to chain him. But the paroxysm soon passed off, and he continued tranquil till the time of his death.

The principle stated in Hadfield's case, however, must be taken with one qualification, according to the present mode of interpreting the law. It must not only appear that the accused labored under a delusion respecting the very act which he committed, but the insane belief must be of such a nature, that, if true, it would have justified the deed. If the madman fancies, for instance, that his keeper is about to kill him, and if, under this delusion, he murders the keeper, he must be acquitted ; for if his supposition were true, the act would be one of self-defence. But if he killed the man only for some imaginary trifling wrong, or to remove a supposed obstacle to the attainment of an estate, though the estate existed only in his own insane fancy, he must be convicted ; for such motives, even if well founded, would not excuse so grave a crime. This is the law as laid down by Chief Justice Shaw in the trial of Rogers; and the doctrine seems to be countenanced, though rather indistinctly, by the answers given by the English judges to the questions proposed by the House of Lords. "The delusion must be such," says Judge Shaw, "that the person under its influence has a real and firm be-

lief of some fact, not true in itself, but which, *if it were true, would excuse his act.*" The English judges declare, that though the man entertains an insane fancy, if he knew, at the time of committing the crime, that he was acting contrary to law, he is punishable. Of course, we cannot penetrate into the recesses of the mind, and ascertain directly whether the man was conscious, at the time, that he was doing a wrong, or transgressing the law. Such consciousness can be inferred only from the character of the deed, and the nature of the fancied provocation to it. If we suppose the motive to be well founded, but find that it is still inadequate to justify the proceeding, we may infer that the man knew he was doing wrong. And this appears to be the doctrine of the English courts.

Dr. Ray objects to this principle of law, and we think with good reason. The delusion usually consists, not merely in the assumption of some wild fancy as a reality, but in the exaggerated importance which the maniac attributes to the supposed fact, and in the influence which he allows it to exert over his whole mind and conduct. He is insane upon this one subject in all its relations ; he has no right judgment either of its moral character or its consequences. He imagines, for instance, that an insult has been offered to him; and though it be of so slight a character, that it would hardly move the resentment of a sane man, to him it is an offence worthy of death. "When a person," says Dr. Ray, "is so insane as to imagine that another is disturbing his peace by spells and incantations, is it strange, that, at the same time, his notions of right and wrong should be so confused, that he thinks himself justified in sacrificing his disturber ?" The fancied wrong seems never to leave the mind of the madman, and appears to him as the sole injury, or the greatest, which one is capable of suffering, and consequently that no punishment is too great for its author. Poor Lear imagines, when "his wits begin to unsettle," that nothing but the ingratitude of children is sufficient to drive a man mad :

> "Nothing could have subdued nature
> To such a lowness, but his unkind daughters."

This harsh maxim, that the monomaniac must be supposed capable of appreciating the moral character of an action, and of weighing out to it the precise measure of retribution

which it deserves, though the action never took place except in his disturbed fancy, seems to have proceeded from the reluctance of the courts to abandon the old principle of law, which never admitted insanity as an excuse for crime, except when it amounted to a total inability to distinguish right from wrong. This principle, in all its generality, was broken down at last, when it was shown by numberless instances, that a man may be insane on one topic, and still show a sense of duty and of right with regard to all other subjects, and be perfectly conscious that the commission of ordinary crimes would subject him to the penalties of law. The moral power seems hardly ever to suffer a total eclipse, and many an inmate of Bedlam will gravely reprove his companions as wrong-doers, when he is eagerly watching for an opportunity to gratify his own homicidal propensity. Compelled to admit the true theory of partial insanity in this respect, the legal tribunals have still insisted, that, when the premises are granted to a maniac, he must be held responsible for his conclusions. Suppose it true, that his victim was his enemy, he must still be condemned, if the supposed cause of enmity was no justification to a sane man for killing his fellow. The severity and injustice of this rule will not long allow it a place in the law, and it is even now relaxed in practice.

But we go much further. We deny the reasonableness or the necessity of punishing a decided monomaniac for any crime, even though it appear totally disconnected with the subject of his particular delusion. Who can trace the tortuous train of association in a disordered intellect, and declare with certainty, that the act did not grow out of the morbid belief, because seemingly far removed from it? It does not appear very readily why Hadfield thought it necessary to shoot at the king in order to fulfil his fancied mission as the Saviour of the world. If nothing but the fact of his entertaining this fancy had appeared at the trial, this rule of law would have required his condemnation. Luckily, the testimony supplied the intervening links in his insane reasoning, and showed that he committed the crime under the belief, that, in order to complete the parallel between himself and the Saviour, he also must be convicted and suffer death from the law. There must be many cases, in which it would be impossible to prove such a connection as was here estab-

lished, or even to indicate it except by such obscure and far-fetched analogies as would fail to convince a jury. Who can even say, that the acknowledged infirmity on a single point is not joined with a liability to insane impulses, or with some other latent but general disorder of the intellect? When the mind is known to be a ruin upon one side, who can tell that the whole structure is not dilapidated and unsound? Besides, even if it were certain that the monomaniac was fully conscious of the criminality of his act, it may be doubted whether he is a proper object of human punishment. The hand of God is already upon him with an infliction heavier than that of death, severing him from the brotherhood of mankind, and marking him out, perhaps, for the unthinking derision of a child. Humanity recoils from the thought of bringing upon such a miserable culprit the last terrors of the law. To afford security to the community is the avowed object of punishing any criminal, and we cannot see how society will be much better protected by putting this class of persons to death, than by incarcerating them in a lunatic asylum. Monomaniacs are neither so numerous nor so wicked, that we need entertain any great apprehensions from them; and to do away with the law, which is unjust to them, will not encourage any other class of criminals. Nor is there any ground to fear lest sane culprits should escape by counterfeiting this form of insanity; for all medical authorities agree, that it is far more difficult to act the part of a person partially insane, than to feign a total deprivation of reason. "Partial insanity," says Dr. Ray, "in consequence of the superior difficulty of the attempt, is much less frequently simulated, and with a much smaller degree of success, than the general form of the disease."

"One of the principal objects of punishments should be, to deter from the commission of crime, by impressing the mind with ideas of physical and moral suffering as its certain consequence; and whenever it is found to produce a very different effect, it is the part of enlightened legislation to devise some other means of prevention. Nothing can be more absurd than to inflict the very punishment which the delusion of the monomaniac often impels him to seek, — to put *him* to death, who voluntarily surrenders himself, and imploringly beseeches it as the only object he had at heart in perpetrating a horrid crime. What is it but converting a dreadful punishment into the dearest boon that earth can offer? In religious monomania, it is not uncommon for the patient to be-

lieve that the joys of heaven are in store for him, and, under the excitement of this insane idea, to murder a fellow-creature, in order that he may the sooner enter on their fruition. To execute one of this class is to perpetuate an evil which needs only a change of penal consequences to be effectually remedied. A kind of delusion has sometimes prevailed in certain parts of Europe, which persuades its unfortunate subjects, that eternal happiness can be gained by being executed for the murder of some innocent person. The idea is, that suicide, being itself a sin, will not be followed by the happiness they seek; but that murder, though a greater crime, can be repented of before the time of execution. This delusion prevailed epidemically in Denmark, during the middle of the last century, and, to avoid sending an unprepared person out of the world, the victim generally selected was a child. Death, of course, was no punishment in this case, and, at last, the king issued an ordinance directing that the guilty should be branded on the forehead with a hot iron and whipped, and be imprisoned for life, with hard labor. Every year, on the anniversary of their crime, they were to be whipped. Lord Dover, in his life of Frederic, relates, that such was the severity of discipline to which the Prussian troops at Potsdam were subjected, that many wished for death to finish their intolerable sufferings, and murdered children, whom they had enticed within their power, in order to obtain from justice the stroke they dared not inflict upon themselves. Abolish capital punishment in such cases, and the delusion will disappear with it; continue it, and no one can tell when the latter will end." — Ray *on Insanity*, pp. 258, 259.

The nature and legal consequences of what may be called "impulsive insanity" form one of the most curious and difficult subjects which courts of law ever have occasion to consider. In the cases ranked under this head, the patient is suddenly led to the commission of an atrocious crime by an uncontrollable impulse, which seizes upon him without premonition or apparent cause. When the idea first presents itself to his mind, he is perfectly conscious of its horrible character, and seeks to drive it, like a spectre, from his thoughts. But it recurs again and again, until the sufferer, if he have sufficient strength of mind remaining, discloses his condition to his friends, and entreats to be put under restraint, so that he may not be able to gratify his dreadful propensity. More frequently, the disease masters reason and conscience at once, and the unhappy individual perpetrates an act which he shudders to hear mentioned a moment afterwards. It is

difficult to credit the existence of a malady manifesting itself in this unaccountable way; but there are numerous well authenticated cases of it on record, and some of the more ordinary phenomena of mind seem allied to it, and to point out the possibility of its occurrence.

Many persons, unused to looking down from a great height, when they come to stand on the brink of a precipice, feel an unaccountable impulse to throw themselves off, though death would be the certain consequence. This is probably only one form of giddiness, which, acting on a nervous temperament, partially disturbs the controlling power of the reason, while a lively imagination seeks to picture to itself the sensation that would be produced by falling through so great a distance. The idea is accompanied by a shuddering emotion, which is usually uncomfortable enough to cause them to retire at once to a place of safety; though we believe that fatal accidents have sometimes happened from this cause. The novelty and excitement of the situation drive out other considerations from the mind, and a lively idea of falling may have fascination enough to draw one over the brink. In like manner, when a person is predisposed to insanity, the conception of some horrible act may, from its vividness, acquire such possession of the mind as to defeat for a moment the controlling power of the conscience and the understanding. The malady here consists not so much in diseased volition, as in the momentary suspension of the governing faculties of the mind, leaving the patient to be guided only by impulses always blind in themselves, but usually checked and controlled by reason. Dreadful fancies will sometimes force themselves upon the healthiest imagination, as in disturbed sleep, and sometimes even in our waking hours; "for where 's the palace whereinto things foul sometimes intrude not?" But they are instantly restrained in a well balanced intellect by the consciousness of wrong. On the approach of mental disease, the struggle between this rebellious impulse and the kingly reason may become a doubtful one. It may be repelled with horror again and again; but it returns, and there is a fearful joy in dallying with it, until at last it acquires absolute power for an instant, and then the wild dream becomes a fearful reality.

This speculation may seem fanciful; but the following remark by Coleridge shows, that something like it has occurred

to other minds. We quote without any approbation of what he says of "lucid intervals"; for, in regard to these, he is contradicted by the highest medical authorities.

"Madness is not simply a bodily disease. It is the sleep of the spirit, with certain conditions of wakefulness; that is to say, lucid intervals. During this sleep or recession of the spirit, the lower or bestial states of life rise up into action and prominence. It is an awful thing to be eternally tempted by the perverted senses. The reason may resist — it does resist — for a long time; but too often, at length, it yields for a moment, and the man is mad for ever. An act of the will is, in many instances, precedent to complete insanity. I think it was Bishop Butler, who said, that he was all his life struggling against the devilish suggestions of his senses, which would have maddened him, if he had relaxed the stern wakefulness of his reason for a single moment." — *Table Talk*, p. 88.

Here, as has been finely said, is a partial explanation of the strange form of insanity so finely portrayed in Hamlet, in whom appear "matter and impertinency mixed, reason in madness." He is naturally of a melancholy disposition, and even before the shock given by the appearance of the ghost and the disclosure of his father's murder, he had reasoned with himself upon the lawfulness of suicide.

> "O, that the Everlasting had not fixed
> His canon 'gainst self-slaughter!"

Then the vision and the tale of horror come to urge his mind to feverish excitement, and for a time he is in a state of delirium, and wild jests are mingled with the terrible fancies which crowd upon his imagination. But this fever of the brain soon subsides, and he sinks again into his morbidly reflective habit and inactive melancholy. The idea of madness is present to his mind; he counterfeits it to blind the suspicions of the king; he dallies with it, and finds a strange pleasure in its approach, as it would relieve him from the burden of a duty which he is unable to fulfil. He cannot act in his sane moments, for his mind then runs only to gloomy meditations, and

> "The native hue of resolution
> Is sicklied o'er with the pale cast of thought."

Whatever he does is unpremeditated and by impulse, when the power of reflection is suspended by surprise and sudden

excitement, and reason and conscience no longer bind his hands. In one of these frantic moments, he slays Polonius; the idea having flashed upon him at the instant, that the concealed auditor was the king. He is disappointed, and has not the energy to finish the work which he had already accomplished in thought. Again his unnerved temperament falls into inaction, and he vainly seeks by argument to urge himself to the effort, and "to spur his dull revenge." At last he accomplishes the dreaded task, as might be expected, not from a preconcerted plan, but from sudden impulse, when in a state of high excitement. If he had had time to think, the action would have been again postponed.

Many cases of impulsive insanity are on record, in which it seems impossible to detect any particular hallucination of mind leading to an act of violence as its natural termination. The deed appears to be involuntary, the unhappy patient shrinking from the contemplation of it both before and after its commission. From the great difficulty of establishing by testimony the true nature of such obscure cases, there is much danger of a total misapplication of legal punishment. "Homicidal desires," says Dr. Ray, "of the intensest kind, will sometimes flit through the mind, while the individual, though capable of judging of his feelings, is unconscious of being otherwise than perfectly well." In support of this assertion, he cites several well authenticated instances. Thus Marc, the eminent medical jurist, relates of himself, that, happening to pass over a bridge one day, he saw a boy sitting on the parapet, and was seized with an almost irresistible desire to push him into the river. The thought occupied his mind but an instant, but it filled him with horror, and he left the spot as soon as possible. When Talma, the tragedian, was told of this fact, he informed the narrator, that he had felt the same impulse under similar circumstances. Gall speaks of a peasant of Swabia, who was subject to periodical attacks of this kind. He had been afflicted with epilepsy, but this disease left him without apparent cause, and in its place he was seized at times with an irresistible inclination to commit murder. He had a presentiment of the approach of the malady, and entreated to be chained and guarded, that he might not be able to act out the horrible impulse. "When the fit comes on," he said, "I feel under a necessity to kill, even if it were a

child." During the fit, he retained his consciousness, and knew that if he yielded to it, he should commit an atrocious crime. In that powerful but extravagant fiction, "The Mysteries of Paris," many of our readers may recollect a striking account of one character, the Chourineur, who was subject to impulses of this nature.

"Andral relates the case of a man of considerable scientific reputation, who became the subject of these horrid impulses. He was seized with an intense desire to deprive some human being of life. Frightened by a consciousness of his state, he voluntarily deprived himself of liberty. He prayed incessantly before the altar, that God would assist him in his struggle. When he felt the inclination arising, (for it assumed an intermittent character,) he had his thumbs tied together; and this slight physical obstacle for a time prevented him from gratifying the horrid propensity. Notwithstanding all his exertions, his malady increased, and he at length made an attempt at homicide; after which, the monomania verged into general insanity, still marked with this predominant character. He eventually died raving mad."—Winslow's *Plea of Insanity*, pp. 57, 58.

Dr. Woodward has treated of this subject with his usual good sense and nice observation. In his "Tenth Annual Report, as Superintendent of the State Lunatic Hospital at Worcester," he describes a number of cases which are so instructive that we transfer a considerable portion of them to our pages.

"Many insane persons know their condition, know their own weakness, and yet are not always able to counteract the influences that excite them to mischief. They are governed by impulse, which is excited so suddenly, that the counteracting or antagonizing influences do not move seasonably to prevent mischief. This is their disease. The active propensities are quickened, and the counteracting moral sentiments are more tardy. As is commonly said, the individual acts before he thinks, and in a moment often regrets what he has done.

"The impulsive insane are often irritable, restless, and jealous. Sometimes they have delusions, and sometimes not. Their delusions frequently seem to have no connection with their outbreaks of violence. They are often the *best*, and at the same time the most *dangerous*, class of patients in the asylums. They have little of the charity of the world, are most likely to be punished for their offences, and yet have the least control over their conduct.

"One man in the Hospital, the past year, went out to do a small job of labor. In the absence of his attendant, the thought came into his mind that he would go and see his brother, a distance of forty miles. He dropped his tools and went off. He walked with great rapidity some hours; and then came the reflection, "Should I have left the Hospital in this way?" The reason why he should not have left did not occur to him till he had got far away, and then he was anxious to return. He inquired the way, wandered a great distance, and finally, coming to a railroad, took passage and returned. He was overjoyed to get back, and seemed as well as usual, but much fatigued. This man killed his wife under the influence of one of these impulses. He is a good laborer, conscientious, judicious, and honest. These impulses occur but rarely. He has always been trusted to labor alone, or with companions. Twice, in ten years, he has gone off under such an impulse, and returned voluntarily after it left him.

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"Some time during the last summer, a patient was at work in the field, hoeing corn. His attendant directed him to vary his labor in some way. In a moment he raised his hoe, and struck him over the head. The wound bled freely, and looked more severe than it really was. The patient and the wounded man both returned to the house. Language cannot describe the suffering of this unfortunate man. He inquired of me most earnestly if the wound was fatal, — if the man could recover. He was pale, agitated, trembling, expressed his sorrow and regret that he had done the deed, and begged that he might see the wounded man and obtain his forgiveness. After the wound was dressed, the man went into the apartment to see the patient, who fell upon his knees and asked his forgiveness in most imploring language, expressing his sorrow for what he had done. This man also committed homicide some years ago, and now expresses his sorrow, protests his innocence of the crime, and daily prays to God for his forgiveness.

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"Many persons contemplate suicide, fear that they shall in an unguarded moment perpetrate it, prepare and keep the means at hand for days and weeks together, and yet never attempt it; such a person may do it afterwards under a momentary but strong excitement of the feelings.

"A patient now in the Hospital, who is very impulsive, has informed me, that he has plunged into the water many times, with the intention of suicide, but that the effect of the water had always been such as to remove the desire of self-destruction, and he had immediately struggled to save himself.

"One patient, who was very suicidal, informed me, after recovery, that, when he was insane, he contemplated suicide; had the greatest dread of it, and fear that he might commit it; urged his friends to keep every thing out of his way, lest he might be induced to take his own life; and yet, at the same time, he would carry a razor in his pocket for days together, and secrete it under his pillow at night.

"A patient now in the Hospital will often give up knife, scissors, and every weapon that may be used for self-destruction; and yet these same instruments will, at another time, be found secreted under the bed, though they have never been used. This shows that the subject is frequently in mind. — pp. 70 – 73.

The mode in which the impulse is carried into effect is often determined by recollection of similar cases, and by some obscure operation of the principle of sympathy. Suicide committed in some extraordinary way, if the circumstances are made public, is very apt to induce one or more persons to follow the dreadful example. A remarkable instance happened in London not long ago. But one case of suicide by precipitation from the top of the monument on Fish-street hill, had occurred for more than half a century. In 1839, a young woman, named Moyes, who had not been suspected of insanity, and was not known to labor under any cause of depression of spirits, having ascended the monument, as was supposed, from motives of curiosity, threw herself off from the balcony at the top, and was killed by the fall. Some complaint was made, at the time, of the carelessness of the persons having charge of the structure; but as they could not be required to take precautions against an event so unlikely to happen, and as the woman could not have fallen from accident, the railing round the balcony being quite high, nothing was done, and the affair seemingly passed out of notice. But within a few months, a boy about sixteen years old, in whose previous conduct nothing unusual had appeared, destroyed himself in the same way. Public attention being now called to the danger, a person was employed to accompany each visiter to the top of the monument, and to remain there during the whole of his stay. But again, before the end of the year, a young woman, who had no apparent cause to wish for death, went up with this attendant, and having contrived to fix his attention upon some object on one side, she mounted

the railing on the other, and precipitated herself to the bottom. Then, at last, the railing was carried up and united to the stone work, thus changing the balcony into a kind of cage, and offering an effectual precaution against such accidents for the future.

These cases may be explained on the supposition of impulsive insanity, united with the giddiness produced by looking down from a great height, to which we have already alluded. If we consider the absence of motive, it seems not likely that either of these unfortunate persons entertained the idea of suicide before mounting the stairs.

"Dr. Pagan observes, that a patient confessed to him, that he never goes near an open window in the upper part of his house, without being afraid, as he thought he should yield to the extraordinary impulse, which he invariably feels when he has done so, to precipitate himself into the street. The same patient informed him, 'that, upon one occasion, while at sea, he became tormented with an inclination to throw himself overboard. He maintained this contest for some days, and describes it as being the most harassing and distressing that can be imagined. When he first experienced it, he endeavoured to laugh himself out of it, but it would not do; he had recourse to every kind of distraction which he could contrive, but it was of no avail. It left him when he went below; but the moment he came on deck, and looked at the sea, the same unaccountable desire came on him, and so worn out was he with the contest he was obliged to maintain, that he actually yielded to the uncontrollable impulse, and threw himself overboard. He was perfectly aware of his danger, and was quite ashamed of what he conceived his own folly.'

"Mrs. Trollope relates the particulars of three women, who, at different periods, whilst under the influence of a momentary paroxysm of delirium, or suicidal frenzy, precipitated themselves from the spire of Strasburg cathedral. One of the unfortunate creatures, says Dr. Pagan, was a young girl; and the first symptom of a disordered mind which she manifested was that of excessive mirth. She laughed and shouted as if in ecstasy, and, having reached a point where nothing impeded her view of the abyss below, she sprang from the giddy eminence, screaming wildly as she fell." — Winslow's *Plea of Insanity*, pp. 54, 55.

The imitative or sympathetic element in impulsive insanity shows itself even more decidedly, when the patient is

led to attack the lives of others. Within two years, three successive attempts have been made upon the life of the queen of England, by mere boys, who had no apparent motive for the deed, and had not previously exhibited any very decided symptoms of insanity. The fear of capital punishment not being sufficient to prevent the repetition of such criminal attempts, parliament very wisely passed a law, that, in any future case, the perpetrator should suffer a much lower but more humiliating penalty ; and since this enactment, the offence has not been repeated. This fact is worthy the attention of those who believe, that sanguinary laws are the most sure mode of deterring from the commission of crime. That most insane persons may be affected by the fear of punishment, and thus be restrained from acts of violence, though their particular delusion leads directly towards such attempts, is a fact established by the experience of every lunatic asylum. That such persons will even presume on the immunity from capital punishment, which arises from consideration for their unhappy state of mind, is no less certain. Two curious anecdotes, in illustration of this fact, are mentioned by Mr. Winslow. An unruly inmate of an asylum, being deprived of a dagger with which he had provided himself, became very violent, and, in a fit of fury, exclaimed to his keeper, "I 'll murder you yet ; *I am a madman, and they cannot hang me for it.*" When Martin set fire to York minster, some lunatics in a neighbouring madhouse were discussing with each other the question, whether he could be convicted for the crime. One of them, apparently as insane as the rest, exclaimed, "Of course he will escape ; they cannot hang him, because he is mad. *He is one of ourselves !*" On persons in this state of mind, it is quite certain, that the dread of a shower-bath, a whipping, or a strait waistcoat, would have more effect than the fear of the gallows.

The contagious effect of impulsive insanity was very apparent in an instance which occurred soon after the trial of Henriette Cornier, at Paris, in 1825. Her case was a remarkable one, and the circumstances acquired great publicity. She was a female servant, twenty-seven years old, who appeared to be of a cheerful temperament, and very fond of children. Suddenly her deportment changed, and she seemed very desponding and melancholy, though no suspicions were excited that she was becoming insane. One

day, when there was no perceptible alteration in her common demeanour, she conceived the horrible purpose of murdering a neighbour's child, a pretty infant, for whom she had always manifested a great liking. She executed the act in a frightful manner, entirely severing the child's head from its body, and throwing it into the street. She was found seated near the body, looking at it, with her hands and clothes stained with blood. She made no attempt to escape, but confessed all the circumstances, adding, that the idea of killing the child had taken possession of her mind, and "*she was destined* to do it." When she was brought to trial, the physicians declared, that they could give no positive proof of her insanity, but they were unwilling to pronounce her sane. On a second trial, the jury found her guilty of voluntary homicide, but without premeditation, and she was condemned to hard labor for life. M. Georget, a medical jurist of high authority, very properly censures this verdict, saying, that, if the accused was mad, she ought to have been acquitted ; and if not mad, she acted from premeditation, and ought to have suffered death.

The remainder of the story we will give in the words of Mr. Winslow.

"A country gentleman, enjoying perfect health, after reading in the paper an account of the indictment of Cornier, awoke in the course of the night with a desire to kill his wife, who was lying beside him. He left his wife's bed for a time, but within three weeks the same murderous impulse seized possession of him. This man did not evince the slightest mental disorder. His business was prosperous ; he had never experienced any domestic cares ; and he had no cause of complaint or jealousy in regard to his wife, whom he fondly loved, and with whom he lived on the most affectionate terms. This unfortunate man was, at last, obliged to separate himself from his wife, fearful that he might yield to the atrocious impulse." — *Plea of Insanity*, p. 73.

When such cases as we have here cited come up for trial, the very difficult question arises, how we are to distinguish this form of insanity, or what characteristic symptoms show that the individual is not responsible for his conduct. Medical jurists have laid down many tests ; but they are very vague, and their application to the particular case is often defeated by legal maxims, which were certainly not estab-

lished with any view to instances of this character. Thus it is said, that the violent act appears to have been committed without motive ; but in cases of deliberate crime, the law presumes malice, even when no reason for it is apparent. It is known that the acts of the madman are often premeditated, but the premeditation is usually short, and offers no very striking manifestations. Sometimes there are premonitory symptoms, such as melancholy, headache, irritability, and a sudden change of demeanour, without any apparent reason. But to say nothing of the fact, that these symptoms often are not perceptible, and the homicidal desire evinces itself without any precursory signs, what jury would venture to acquit a man accused of some frightful deed, merely because he had appeared sad and irritable for a few days before, and something unusual had been seen in his deportment ? Sane persons may well appear abstracted and gloomy, when brooding over an insult, or meditating an atrocious crime.

> " Between the acting of a dreadful thing,
> And the first motion, all the interim is
> Like a phantasma, or a hideous dream."

The subsequent conduct of the accused, if he made no attempt to escape, but delivered himself up to justice, and acknowledged the act, is another of the indications that the deed was done from an insane impulse. But a ferocious person, in a state of high excitement, or under the influence of revenge, may commit murder when the circumstances render flight or concealment impossible, and therefore he may not attempt either. His passive state, after the passion is glutted, is no justification of the act, nor proof of unsoundness of mind. Cases of momentary madness often terminate, after a time, in the general and continued form of the disease ; but this fact can seldom aid the defence of the accused, especially if the trial take place shortly after the event.

There seems little likelihood, then, in many cases of this class, that the accused will be able to establish his defence, though he may really be an object rather of compassion than punishment. The old legal test, that every person who can distinguish between right and wrong is amenable to punishment for any injury he may inflict, fails entirely in these cases ; or, if adhered to, it will insure the condemnation of

the party. The sufferer is fully aware of the atrocious nature of the crime which he is urged to commit; he resists the propensity for a time, but it overpowers him at last, and he is made wretched for life, or so long as he may preserve the remnant of his reason, by the consciousness of his involuntary act. It is shocking to think, that such an unhappy being may fall a victim to the mistaken severity of the laws.

There is still another form of moral insanity, which is even more obscure in its nature and manifestations than that which is characterized by uncontrollable impulse. It may be called the madness of total depravity. The understanding is apparently sound; the patient has perceptive and reasoning faculties equal to those of other men, and is subject to no hallucination. He seems even to be conscious of the moral relations which bind him to his fellows, though they are but seldom allowed to control his conduct. The affections and propensities appear wholly diseased, and in his actions he resembles a demon rather than a man. He is quarrelsome, violent, and cruel, and no instruction or moral discipline seems to have any effect on his vicious inclinations. He is a moral idiot, the impersonation of every thing that is bad; and the fault not being attributable to education, nor corrigible by it, he is considered as laboring under a congenital and incurable disease. Pinel describes a case, which may be taken as a type of the whole class. It was that of a wayward youth, whose caprices and passions increased with his years, till no bounds could be put to the indulgence of his wild desires. Opposition or resistance roused him to acts of fury, and he attacked those whom he disliked with savage fierceness. If any animal offended him, he instantly killed it. If he went to any public meeting, he was sure to become engaged in a brawl, and lawsuits and wounds were the frequent consequences of his quarrelsome disposition. Yet he managed his estate with propriety, and is said to have distinguished himself, at times, by acts of beneficence and compassion. An act of gross violence, at last, brought upon him the stern hand of the law. Being enraged with a woman who had applied harsh language to him, he threw her into a well. He was tried for this offence, and, on the testimony of several witnesses, he was condemned to imprisonment for life in the Bicêtre.

The frantic conduct of the worst of the Roman emperors, and of Frederick of Prussia, the father of Frederick the Great, has been attributed to this malady. Their actions were bad enough, but we question whether the tokens of insanity, either in their cases, or in others of the same class, are decided enough to warrant us in considering them as irresponsible for their crimes. Such individuals are not men, but monsters, and, though unfit to die, are certainly unfit to live. Perpetual incarceration is the only proper mode of preventing them from doing harm to society, and it matters little whether the condemnation to it be viewed as a penalty or an act of compassion.

For the guidance of legal investigations, it is very desirable to have a definition of insanity sufficiently comprehensive and exact to separate all cases of unquestioned disorder of the intellect from the mere eccentricities and idiosyncrasies, to which so large a portion of mankind are subject, but which do not amount to positive mental disease. We have shown enough of the Protean forms which this malady assumes to make it evident, that, in the present state of science, no such definition can be framed. The monomaniac, the moral idiot, the fatuous person, the delirious, the man subject to insane impulses, and the frenzied madman, cannot easily be brought into the same category, or included under one description which shall be any thing more than a vague and unmeaning generality. We have already seen how narrow and absurd is the old definition in law, which makes the moral power to be the sole test of sanity, and declares that he is not a madman who is capable of distinguishing right from wrong. More ingenious, but still unsatisfactory, is the theory of Locke, who maintains that madmen reason correctly from wrong premises, while idiots cannot reason at all. This is a correct description of idiocy, so far as it goes ; but it does not include delirium, or irrational and uncontrollable impulse ; for in the former case, the power of ratiocination is destroyed, and in the latter, the premises as well as the conclusions of the sufferer are sound. Very often also, as in the cases of Bellingham and Hadfield, the *means* employed by the madman are as absurd as the *end* is imaginary or improper. To maintain, as Dr. Cullen has done, that insanity consists in false judgments, is no more than to say, that every man is distracted who has lost his wits.

In his ingenious and beautifully written work on the "Indications of Insanity," Dr. Conolly proposes a new definition of the disease, and defends it with much acuteness and a long array of analyzed cases. He affirms, that insanity is "the impairment of any one or more of the faculties of the mind, accompanied with, or inducing, a defect in the comparing faculty." A person, who merely suffers a morbid affection of one or more of his intellectual faculties, must still be accounted sane, if the power of comparison be unharmed; and on the other hand, defective comparison does not constitute madness, unless it is attended by disease of one of the faculties. An individual may be subject, for instance, to false sensations; like Nicolai, of Berlin, he may be haunted with a succession of spectral images or phantoms; but retaining the power of comparing these false apparitions with the real objects that are around him, and thereby separating the imaginary from the true, he is not mad. He soon ceases to be alarmed by the presence of the phantasms, and finds a rational pleasure in watching and describing the succession of phenomena. After the cerebral excitement, which thus singularly affects his vision, has passed off, the spectral images disappear. To a person in a fever the bed may seem to be in flames, or his hearing may be afflicted with the murmur of many voices; so long as he can compare such sights and sounds with the real perceptions of sense, and describe them to his physician as mere imaginations growing out of his complaint, he is still in his right mind. As the fever mounts higher, this power of comparison is lost; the false sensations become realities to him, and occupy his whole attention. Then he is delirious.

To take an instance of the opposite character, the comparing faculty may be seriously impaired, while all the other powers of mind are in good condition; as in the case of an eccentric person, whose intellect seems to be monopolized by one idea. A religious devotee, a projector, an enthusiast, or what Sterne calls a *hobby-horsical* man, by dwelling to excess upon some darling thought or scheme, loses all proper judgment of its relative importance, disregards every thing else in the pursuit of it, and afflicts his friends by harping upon it both in season and out of season, till they are vexed enough to pronounce him mad. Of Howard, who paid such close and long-continued attention to the ameliora-

tion of prisons, Dr. Reid remarked, that he would have been a madman, if he had not been a great philanthropist. A worthy mechanic is sometimes afflicted with the belief, that he has discovered perpetual motion ; or a conceited and superficial mathematician imagines, that he has found out the quadrature of the circle. They torment their acquaintances with fancied demonstrations of the process, or by enlarging on the importance of the discovery, till it appears a charitable remark to say, that they have lost their wits. Still, they are not insane ; when applied to any other subject than that which has so unfortunately mastered their judgment, all the powers of mind display their usual vigor. With regard to one topic only, the comparing faculty is injured or destroyed ; but as there is no impairment of the other faculties, Dr. Conolly pronounces them sane. The favorite project is often of so benevolent a character, or the individual frequently accomplishes so much for the cause of science by his devotion to a single object of inquiry, that we are forced to respect his motives or his powers, though we may smile at his delusion. Their neighbours consider them " wonderfully clever men, but certainly a little mad." Dr. Parr was wont to say of them, that they were certainly *cracked*, but that the crack *let in light*. Such notions, however, cannot long be indulged to excess with impunity ; the mind seems to give way, if too long drawn in one direction. False sensations are induced. The individual fancies he hears or sees that his impracticable project is accomplished, and that he already touches the reward of his labor. He is then cracked in good earnest.

Dr. Conolly's theory is quite a plausible one, and he applies it to the analysis of cases of insanity with great ingenuity and considerable success. We have room to cite but two short passages, showing the mode of its application for this purpose ; but the extracts give a fair specimen of the general reasoning of the author.

" The senses, we have seen, are subject to various delusions, particularly the senses of sight and hearing ; sometimes the sense of taste ; more rarely the sense of touch. A thousand instances are related of persons who have imagined some change to have been wrought in their appearance or structure. Men have believed themselves to be converted into tea-pots ; into barrels which were rolled along the street ; or into a town-pump, to

which no rest was given from morning until night. A respectable tradesman fancied himself metamorphosed into a seven-shilling piece, and took the precaution of going round to those with whom he dealt, requesting, as a particular favor, that, if his wife should present him in payment, they would not give change for him. Others have imagined that some animal had found its way into the stomach, or that many armed knights were battling there; and some have thought themselves possessed of a double set of bowels, productive of discordant and highly inconvenient movements. It sometimes happens, that the difficulty of persuading a lunatic patient to take medicine is removed by his supposing it to be a delicious wine; he then drinks it with evident gratification. Mr. Bayle mentions the case of a lady, who put flints into all she drank, supposing them to be lumps of sugar.

"In all these cases, for they all admit of one explanation, there is first a morbid sensation. We have seen that a morbid sensation does not constitute madness. But this impairment of sensation becomes, in certain cases, productive of, or accompanied by, a loss of the comparing power; either productive of the loss by its force, or accompanied by it in consequence of some further disease, as of the attention or memory; and then there is madness. When a man can see, hear, eat, drink, and sleep, and yet affirms that he is a tea-pot, it is plain that he either has no sensation but that which gives him the impression of being a tea-pot, or that he cannot attend to other impressions so as to compare them with that morbid impression. If comparison were made by him, his belief would be at an end; for a tea-pot neither eats, nor drinks, nor sleeps. A man, who, sitting quietly in his room, believes himself to be a barrel rolled along the street, is, in the first place, the victim of a morbid sensation; but if he could compare the sensations arising from the objects actually around him with his morbid sensations, he would detect the delusion, and laugh at his morbid feelings. He cannot do this, either because he feels nothing but his morbid sensations, or cannot let his attention rest on other sensations; and, in either case, he is mad, because he cannot compare one sensation with another.

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"Dr. Mead relates, that an hypochondriacal student of Oxford, after leading a life of indolence, imagined he was at the hour of death, and ordered the passing-bell to be rung, that he might hear it before he died. He had been fond of bell-ringing himself, and finding the ringing execrable, leaped out of his supposed bed of death, and hastened to the belfry, to show how the

bell *ought* to be rung; he then returned to his room, that he might die in a proper way. But the exercise taken on this occasion proved so beneficial to him, that he soon recovered from his hypochondriasis. The sensations of approaching death, and the exercise of running to the belfry, were, in this example, not compared with each other; the strength required to ring the bell, and the attention necessary for ringing it properly, were disregarded by the student. He could not attend to them, and compare them with his morbid impression of approaching death; therefore the morbid impression remained, and so long as it remained he was insane. The unusual circumstance of a man ordering his own passing-bell to be rung was not attended to; that is, certain comparisons were not made which would have shown him that is was unusual. Yet his sensations were not lost; he heard the unskilful ringing, and rose in a passion to rectify it; but he could compare none of these things with the morbid sensations of imaginary death." — Conolly *on Insanity*, pp. 309 – 313.

The defect of this theory seems to be, that it is properly applicable only to those cases of insanity which are attended with hallucination, and even here it does not describe the most characteristic feature of the malady. It does not extend to what we have called "moral idiocy," nor to impulsive insanity; for, in the former case, we cannot declare with certainty, that any one faculty of the mind is diseased, and in the latter, only the power of comparison is lost, and that only at the instant when the propensity masters the will. Again, it is only by an undue refinement of analysis, that the definition is made to cover many of the ordinary cases of insanity. A monomaniac fancies that his nearest friends have entered into a conspiracy to do him harm. Here is no illusion of the senses, and though, in ordinary parlance, the notion is said to be an imaginary one, there is, properly speaking, no general disease of the imagination, and no impairment of its wonted vigor. The unfounded belief is irrational, but it is not imaginative, as it would be, if the sufferer fancied, for instance, that he was an inhabitant of an enchanted castle, and was surrounded by gnomes and dwarfs obedient to his will. Nor is it a case of false sensation; the patient may not fancy that he sees his friends striking at him with daggers, or that he hears them loading him with jests and opprobrium. He sees and hears them just as other men do; but he puts a false construction upon all their

acts. He imputes the basest motives to them, and treasures up in his memory their most insignificant motions as parts of one great design affecting his peace. He often shows remarkable ingenuity in these forced constructions, and will argue the matter till he frequently succeeds in puzzling his opponent. To affirm that the power of comparison here is impaired is only to palter with words. As in the case of Hamlet, we should say that there is rather an excess than a defect of the comparing faculty.

It seems to us, that the most characteristic trait, even of those cases which are cited by Dr. Conolly as exemplifications of his theory, is a loss of the indirect controlling power which the will usually exercises over the propensities and the processes of the understanding. We call this power *indirect*, because the will cannot immediately govern the belief, or the succession of ideas, so as to give distinctness to an imperfect recollection, or to put aside an unpleasant thought. But it can indirectly labor to these ends, and human reason differs from brute instinct in no respect so much as in this sovereignty, partial though it be, which the will and the conscience exercise over the swift currents of the thoughts, and the impulse of the desires. This is chiefly done through the faculty of attention, which is directly dependent on the will. We can stay the succession of ideas at any instant, in order to dwell upon a selected thought, till we have considered it in all its parts and relations. Comparison itself is rightly defined by Dr. Conolly, only as an act of alternate attention to two objects ; and it is therefore impaired or lost only when we cease to have command of the attention, because the will in this respect has become powerless. We distinguish fancies from realities only by an effort of attention to our sensations, which manifest the difference between the imaginary and the true. If circumstances prevent us from making this effort, we live in an unreal world, heedless and unconscious of external things. The same relaxation of the power of the will, by which mental phenomena are converted into real existences, removes all control and guidance from the thoughts, which then become confused and incoherent, a mere stream of inconsistent fancies. It is so in dreams ; every sleeper is a madman, and would appear as such, if the will did not lose its power over the body also, so that action no longer manifests the

delusions of the intellect. In the case of somnambulism, the muscles remain subject to the volitions of the sleeper, while the mind is under no control. He is, therefore, really insane, and, as such, the law does not hold him responsible for his deeds. To remove the check which the will has over the thoughts is like taking away the balance-wheel from a watch, which then runs down with a hurried and irregular motion, no longer taking note of time. Every thinker perceives this effect if he abandons himself to a fit of reverie, when the most heterogeneous ideas chase each other in quick succession through the mind, without coherency or method, and leaving hardly a trace on the memory. Startle him from this state of dreamy abstraction, and he looks round bewildered, and requires a moment of effort, before he becomes conscious of his situation, and of the presence of surrounding things. Except the depression of spirits, he feels, for an instant, as Lear did, when wakening to a gleam of sanity, as the clouds which had obscured his intellect are for a moment parted. How admirably are the bewilderment of mind, and the effort to recall and fix the attention upon the bystanders, here depicted! It is the struggle of the will to regain its supremacy.

> "Pray, do not mock me:
> I am a very foolish, fond old man,
> Fourscore and upward; and, to deal plainly,
> I fear I am not in my perfect mind.
> Methinks I should know you, and know this man;
> Yet I am doubtful: for I am mainly ignorant
> What place this is; and all the skill I have
> Remembers not these garments; nor I know not
> Where I did lodge last night. Do not laugh at me;
> For, as I am a man, I think this lady
> To be my child Cordelia."

In most cases of recovery, the patient retains no memory of what has occurred, or what he has done, during his madness; or, if any recollection remains, it is dim and perturbed, like that of a dream. Memory being dependent on attention, and that again on the will, this is precisely what we should expect when the power of volition is suspended. In cases of partial mania, the will loses its control over a particular thought, or set of ideas, which then occupy and harass the mind, being invested with a factitious importance, and leading to the most insane acts.

A sane person, if an unpleasant thought or recollection comes upon him, can resolutely put it aside, and fix his attention upon other objects. But, if he be nervous and imaginative, irresolute of will, and defective in the power of attention, the unwelcome visitant — especially if it be of a gloomy or exciting character, like the recollection of a calamity, a disappointment, or an insult — usurps almost exclusive possession of the mind, and he sinks into habitual despondency. Every moment then increases his danger, and unless some counteracting cause, like the necessity for exertion, be applied, the train of thought at last entirely shakes off the sovereignty of the will, and the man becomes a monomaniac.

The particular character of the delusion will be determined by the patient's former prevailing turn of mind, and by the chief emotions to which he was subject. A man's character is not altered by an attack of insanity ; it is only developed and exposed, the check which was usually imposed on its free manifestations being now taken away. A person of sound mind soon learns to control his desires and propensities, from a regard to the opinions or the rights of others. His irascibility is repressed, his estimation of himself is carefully concealed, his lower appetites are governed, and he maintains that reserved and staid demeanour, through which only a penetrating eye, and observation sharpened by long experience, can detect the innate peculiarities of his disposition. This lesson of self-control is learned at so early a period, and is practised upon so habitually, that one is hardly conscious of effort in submitting to it, unless the primitive desires are of extraordinary force. Let the power of the will be destroyed by an attack of mental disease, and this veil is removed ; the passions run riot, the leading emotion betrays itself in the grossest manner, and the sufferer appears like another being, even to his most intimate friends.

The love of power, and an inordinate estimate of self, are among the most common infirmities of human nature; and nowhere are they so strikingly exhibited, though in a ludicrous light, as among the inmates of a lunatic asylum. Here comes a king of shreds and patches, with a paper crown on his head, and bits of tinsel showily disposed about his person, who announces himself as the Prince of Wales

and emperor of the world, and greets his visiter with the utmost condescension, as he would a subject who had come to do him homage. But he suddenly breaks off in the midst of a pompous speech, to inform you, that he has just had a contest with the devil in that apartment, and had broken two of his ribs, — this devil being an unfortunate keeper, to whose face he had taken a dislike, and whose bones he had actually broken. The walls of his room are scribbled all over, chiefly with the lofty titles of his greatness ; as, "Supreme from the Almighty," "Mighty Prince," "Mighty General-in-Chief," "Great Mighty Grand Admiral," and the like.* Another of the company is a poor, mad author, who, in one hour, has written an epic, embracing the universal history of Greece and Rome ; has restored the Iliad to its state as it came from the genius of Kanki, who lived many millions of ages before the deluge of Ogyges ; and accounts for his wonderful endowments, by saying that he is a son of Jupiter and Juno. Scott has given us an admirable portrait of a deranged female, whose brain-sick fancies are only the foibles of the weaker part of her sex grossly exaggerated, and displayed without the least reserve. Madge Wildfire is insane from an excessive love of admiration, and an insatiable desire to dazzle and captivate ; and in all her ravings, her simpering manner, her fantastic costume, and bits of finery, we see only the ruling passion divested of any covering or control.

The strange jumble of fancies, which a distracted person exhibits, is nothing but the perfectly loose and casual succession of ideas in a mind which has emancipated itself from the governing power of the will. It is precisely the incoherency of a dream, when the thoughts ramble on without any restraint from volition, or any voluntary pause for the exercise of judgment. The utterly passive intellect merely reflects like a mirror the images that float before it, without receiving any impression from them, or preserving any trace of their passage. Outward objects have no longer their usual power to check the current of loose thoughts, and recall the mind to a consciousness of its situation ; the sleeper does not see them, and the insane person, from the defect in his will, can pay no attention to them. The dream of

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* Conolly *on Insanity*, p. 289.

the madman lasts longer ; but in every other respect, it is like the night-visions of the perfectly healthy intellect. He has the command of his limbs, also, but he walks in his sleep, and has as little perception of external things as the common somnambulist.

The application of this theory to the cases of moral idiocy and impulsive insanity is very easily made. Our position is, that mental disease is nothing more than the suspension of the ordinary power of the will over the other powers of the mind. The thoughts and actions then become entirely irrational, not because reason and judgment, properly speaking, cease to exist, but because they are both acts consequent upon attention, and, of course, cannot manifest themselves when the attention is no longer under control. These noble faculties, then, neither decay nor are subject to disease ; they are simply suspended from the exercise of their functions by the impairment of another power which is a prerequisite to their use ; and when the madman's sleep is ended, they revive and perform their accustomed office. In the same way, the loss of power in the will suspends the exercise of the moral faculty. In moral mania, the conscience "is not dead, but sleepeth." The desires and propensities then exist with no more than their usual force ; but they are entirely free from restraint by the will. All the active principles of our nature then reign unchecked, and one is quite as likely to be governed by the more noble, as by the more debasing, among their number. In the instance already cited from Pinel, brutal and violent as were most of the actions of the young man, we learn that he readily gave way, at times, to motions of beneficence and compassion. He was literally the creature of his impulses, and blindly followed them, whether they pointed to good or evil. His condition, then, was very like that of other maniacs, who are commonly said to be subject to insane impulses ; only, in his case, the will seemed to be absolutely bereft of its rightful authority over the passions, while in theirs it is powerless only at intervals, or under particular excitement. Strictly speaking, the impulse is not a mark of insanity, nor unusual in its character. The thought of killing may frequently enter the mind of a passionate but perfectly sane person ; but it is instantly put aside, as an idle or wicked fancy, by the conscience. The will masters such vague but

horrible thoughts almost without the consciousness of effort. But as the gradual approach of disease weakens its command over the succession of ideas, the devilish thought intrudes more frequently, and will not "down at his bidding." An air-drawn dagger becomes visible to his "heat-oppressed brain," and he clutches the real weapon at last, in what is, for the moment, an uncontrollable frenzy.

But we return from this long digression to our proper subject, the jurisprudence of insanity. Our definition or theory of insanity, like that of Dr. Conolly, whatever may be thought of its general soundness, is merely speculative in this respect, and throws no light upon the difficult question, how far the responsibility of crime is taken away by the apparent disease of the intellect. Indeed, enough has been said to show, that it is impossible to frame a definition which shall be of use for this purpose. The only feature which the different forms of the malady have in common is of so hidden and mysterious a character, that it cannot be detected, by observation from without, with that degree of assurance which is requisite for legal decisions. Meanwhile, the frequency with which the plea of insanity has been successfully put forward of late, in criminal cases, is quite remarkable, and tends to agitate the community with contradictory fears, either lest the guilty should in this way escape unpunished, and the peace of society be endangered, or lest the extreme vengeance of the laws should fall on the heads of those who are wholly unconscious of crime. The evil is aggravated by the view of some absurdities in the law regarding insanity, which had their origin at a time when our knowledge of the disease was far less complete than it is at present, and which are preserved through the lawyer's respect for precedents, and his belief in the necessary rigidity of legal maxims. One of the most flagrant of these is, the distinction made between civil and criminal cases, according to which, a man may be incapacitated for the management of his own concerns, but is still held answerable for acts affecting the peace of the community. He may be declared incapable of making a will, but if the imbecility of his mind betrays him into an act of violence, he is still deemed a proper subject for the gallows. It is not surprising, that juries are sometimes found to disregard instructions from the bench, when they are of this character.

In view of all the difficulties of the subject, we cannot but think, that respect for the laws, confidence in the legal tribunals, and the peace of society, will be best secured by the entire abolition of the punishment of death. Juries shrink with a just and natural horror from the idea of taking the life of a human being who has been hurried into crime by a terrible and inscrutable malady, brought upon him by the act of God. The indications of the disease may be so faint, that even the medical witnesses will hesitate to pronounce the man insane. But the reluctance to take life under any circumstances impels the jurors to avail themselves of the slightest doubt, and the accused is acquitted, though he has committed an unprovoked murder, attended with circumstances of such shocking barbarity, that the feelings of the whole community have been strongly excited against him, and the demand for condign punishment has been loud and incessant. The more terrible the nature of the crime, the more savage and motiveless, the more destitute of palliating circumstances, the greater is the probability that no one but a madman could have committed it. So reason the persons who are charged with the awful responsibility of deciding upon the fate of the accused, and to whom alone are directly made known the multitude of little facts, which obscurely intimate the derangement of his intellect. But the community at large, acquainted only with the broad and obvious features of the case, reason far differently. They murmur that the laws are not enforced, that guilt is triumphant, and the life of no man is secure. And yet, so wavering and inconsistent is this popular judgment, that, if the person has been convicted and sentenced, before the gibbet can be erected, a morbid sympathy for his case affects the minds of men, and they now clamor as loudly for his pardon, as they formerly did for his condemnation.

Acquittals on the ground of insanity have been frequent of late, both in England and this country ; and much uneasiness is felt, lest the administration of the laws should fail to do justice to the accused, or to prevent the commission o crime. The recent cases of Oxford and McNaughton in London, — which excited so much clamor, that the Lords required the twelve judges to declare what was the law respecting insanity, and thus to quiet the public mind, — and

those of Mercer at Philadelphia, and of Abner Rogers at Boston, have done much to develope this feeling. The cry now is, that there will be a reaction, and that juries will no longer listen to the vague plea so easily preferred, that the accused was not of sound mind, and therefore not amenable to punishment. Yet, in most cases, the subsequent history of the accused has shown that the suspicion of insanity was well founded. Abner Rogers, after his acquittal, was removed to Worcester hospital, where the indications of his malady became very apparent, and the close of his life left no doubt upon the subject. One day, when the inmates of the institution were collected together in the chapel, a fit of frenzy came upon him, and, before he could be prevented, he plunged through a window, which was fifteen feet from the ground, and was killed by the fall. The concurring testimony of all keepers of lunatic asylums is, that, in the cases of persons committed to their charge, who had been acquitted of crime, because believed to be insane, with hardly an exception, such decided symptoms of mania have appeared, that it was held unsafe to dismiss them from the institution. Dr. Woodward had doubts in one case, but expresses himself with perfect conviction respecting all the others. His evidence upon this head, and that of several others equally well qualified to form an opinion, are given in a note by Dr. Ray, to which we refer our readers.

Still, the belief is general, that insanity may be feigned, or eccentricity or waywardness may be mistaken for it, and thus crime will escape the retribution which is its due. The existence of this belief tends to impair confidence in the action of the legal tribunals, and is, therefore, in itself an evil of no slight magnitude. Take away the punishment of death, and the whole difficulty disappears. Then, if the plea of insanity be brought forward, the only question will be, whether the accused ought to be incarcerated for life in a prison or a lunatic asylum ; and so far as the safety of the community is concerned, the determination of this question is a matter of no importance. The jury will come to the consideration of it with minds entirely free from bias or prejudice. In England, we believe, the insane homicide is never again permitted to go at large, and this certainly ought to be the rule in our own country. The admitted maxim, that the certainty of punishment is of much greater weight in de-

terring from crime than its severity, adds much force to these considerations.

Mr. Sampson, an English writer of some authority upon criminal jurisprudence, even endeavours to prove, that the operation of the law, as it now stands, is to awaken and encourage the homicidal propensity. His arguments derive weight from the explanations we have endeavoured to give of the nature and tendency of the different forms of mental disease. The sight of an execution, or even the knowledge that one has taken place, tends to develope the destructive impulse in the minds of those who are prone to it, and to excite that obscure operation of sympathy which was alluded to in speaking of the cases of suicide from the monument. Thus the punishment, instead of having a beneficial effect upon the minds of those who labor under homicidal tendencies, actually stimulates them to the crime.

"He infers, from an attentive examination of the subject, that, at least in two out of three instances, suicide has been attempted previously to the perpetration of the murder, and that the state of mind which impels them to commit murder renders them desirous of self-destruction. Those who are found most frequently at executions are persons in whom the destructive propensity is in a state of morbid excitability. The fact mentioned by Mr. Ewart in the House of Commons, and referred to by Mr. Sampson, certainly strengthens his position. It appears, that, out of 167 persons who had been executed during a certain period, 164 were found to have been present at executions." — Winslow *on Insanity*, p. 81.

We have considered but a small number of the topics which are treated at length in Dr. Ray's valuable and interesting work. His views in relation to all of them are entitled to much respect, from the abundant opportunities which he has enjoyed for observation, and from the candor, acuteness, and sound judgment, which he displays in discussing all the mooted points of his subject. The book abounds with curious information and food for thought, and may be heartily commended to the attention of the general student, as well as of those whose professional pursuits give them an immediate interest in the matters of which it treats.

ART. II. — *An Address delivered before the Society of the Alumni of Harvard University, on their Anniversary, August* 27, 1844. By DANIEL APPLETON WHITE. Cambridge: John Owen. 1844. 8vo. pp. 42.

THE *Alumni* of Harvard University were peculiarly fortunate in selecting, as the orator for their recent anniversary, one whom many years of intimate connection with that institution had made conversant with its history, condition, claims, and wants, and who had gained the right to speak with authority of the duties of the graduates to their *Alma Mater*, by his own faithful services on her boards of instruction and supervision, and by untiring devotion to her interests. His address is full of valuable suggestions with reference to college discipline, and bears throughout the tokens of sound discretion and great practical wisdom. It is, at the same time, a scholarly production, rich in classical and literary allusions and quotations, and bearing numerous marks of the liberal tastes and pursuits to which the author's life has been consecrated. We avail ourselves of its appearance, to fulfil a long cherished purpose of presenting our views of the present condition and wants of our venerable University ; and, in doing this, we shall refer freely to the address before us, in illustration and corroboration of our statements.

The means of liberal education now presented at Cambridge are undoubtedly more ample than at any previous period, and far surpass those enjoyed at any other literary institution on this side of the Atlantic. The chairs of instruction, with hardly an exception, are filled by men of well known and eminent scholarship in their respective departments, and of exemplary diligence and zeal in the cultivation of literature and science. The library, meagre as it is when compared with those of European universities, is beyond comparison more valuable than any other in America, and has of late increased with unexampled rapidity. In point of scientific collections and apparatus, Harvard, though for a time behind Yale, must now, with her new and splendidly furnished observatory, take precedence in the department of astronomy, and in that of natural science is fast gaining ground on her only competitor. The standard of qualifications for admission at Cambridge has been greatly raised

within a few years, and the examinations are so rigorously conducted, as to make the admission of the few dunces and drones who enter there a miracle. The amount of learning, which may be acquired there by industrious and ambitious students, is much larger and more various, than it formerly was; and the instruction given to such students is as thorough and faithful as could be desired. The courses of lectures annually delivered there comprise a very extended circle of liberal studies ; they are all accurate and able expositions of the branches of knowledge, to which they respectively appertain; and some of them add the attraction of commanding eloquence to that of profound learning, while others, no less valuable and useful, serve, indeed, to remind the hearer, that the Muses do not always dwell together. In fine, our University may now be said to lack no desirable facility for the cultivation of any branch of knowledge, that can properly come within the range of a collegiate course.

But, notwithstanding the superior advantages which it offers, (and which, we are glad to see, are embraced, the present year, by an unusually large number of professional students,) Harvard College, in the most populous part of the whole country, has remained stationary as to the number of undergraduates, for twenty or thirty years, while the younger New England colleges are every year admitting larger and larger classes. Nay, more, considered as the college of Massachusetts and New England, Harvard has been constantly losing patronage. Were it not for the more than quadrupled population of Boston and its environs, the Cambridge catalogues would have exhibited an annual decrease for the last twenty years. Twenty years ago, about one fifth of the undergraduates were from Boston, and about one fourth from places within ten miles of the College. Now, about one third are from Boston, and not far from one half come from towns within ten miles of Cambridge. Meanwhile, the catalogues of other colleges have shown an annually increasing number of students, who, coming from the immediate vicinity of Cambridge, must needs have had some peculiarly stringent reason for resorting to colleges situated one, two, or three hundred miles distant from their homes.

This state of things is not to be accounted for by the increased number of colleges; for there has been but one new college established in New England for the last twenty years;

the number of students at Yale, instead of falling off, has increased of late years; and Harvard College has a much larger population in its immediate vicinity than Yale or Dartmouth, though it has fewer students than either of these institutions. Still less are we inclined to ascribe this state of things to any actual change in the relative position of our University, among the literary institutions of the country. Other colleges have, indeed, greatly improved. The numerous academic corps of Yale contains professors second to none in their respective departments. The little company of instructers at Bowdoin is composed of men of signal diligence and ability; while Bowdoin, as well as Brown University, attracts much interest and patronage, from the well known and eminent talents of its presiding officer. Dartmouth College has a body of industrious and faithful teachers, and has undoubtedly raised its literary standard for the lovers of study; but its increased advantages are, in our judgment, more than counterbalanced by the introduction of a system, which dispenses with all college honors, assigns all public performances by lot, and leaves the student destitute of any stimulus from without to persevering diligence. But whatever improvements may have been made in other colleges, we cannot but think that Harvard has advanced *pari passu*, and still maintains her precedence of the rest, both as to the advantages directly offered, and as to all collateral encouragements and aids to a liberal education. This, we believe, is generally conceded by the *alumni* and patrons of other colleges; or, where any distinction is claimed in behalf of any other institution, it is at least admitted, that, if a student may acquire less, he also has the means of acquiring more, at Harvard than elsewhere. Yet, notwithstanding this, it must be confessed, that Harvard has, of late, been constantly losing ground in the esteem and patronage of the community at large, and is fast becoming simply a high school for a portion of the youth of Boston and its vicinity.

Pecuniary considerations, no doubt, deter many students from entering at Harvard. The course there is, indeed, an expensive one, for reasons entirely beyond the control of the College boards. Most of the expenses are determined by local causes, which they cannot obviate. The price of board depends on the cost of rent, fuel, and provisions,

which is necessarily high in the environs of an overflowing city. Then, too, the general style of dress and furniture is made more sumptuous than is needful, by the vicinity of the city, and by the large proportion of the students who are from rich and fashionable families. Yet in all these things there is room for economy without reproach; and an indigent young man, who sees fit to practise rigid self-denial to secure to himself the highest literary privileges, only elevates himself thereby in his social position among his fellow-students. The charges made directly by the College are low. A student, who shares with another a college room, pays but *fifteen* dollars a year for rent and care of room. The tuition fee, including the use of the library and the expenses of lecture rooms, is but *seventy-five* dollars *per annum*, — a large amount, indeed, compared with that charged at many other colleges, and with the ability of many students, yet less than the tuition fee at any respectable high school in this vicinity, and pitifully small, when considered with reference to the extent and variety of the privileges to which it introduces the student. Nor is it possible for the College, in the present state of its funds, to reduce this fee. It is said, indeed, that the College is rich; but its wealth in one aspect makes it poor in another. About three fourths of its invested funds were bestowed for specific ends, and are not available for the general expenses of the institution. Very few of these specific endowments are sufficient for the purposes for which they were given; — most of them require, every year, additional appropriations from other sources. Under these circumstances, the full tuition fee is absolutely needed. Nor, in truth, should we desire to see it less ; but would be glad to have it raised. We like to see things appraised with some reference to their true value. A liberal education is too good a gift to be offered at a paltry price. Raise its cost, and it will be more highly esteemed, and more ambitiously sought. We have heard complaints of college bills from men who would spend more than a year's tuition fee on a single dinner-party, and whose servants' wages a professor's entire salary would hardly pay. Now we can see no reason why the parent, who denies himself and his family no indulgence or luxury which can be bought with money, should sue *in formâ pauperis* before the College faculty, and expect to pay less for his son's education, than the boy will

pay to his boot-black. The College ought, however, to be enabled to remit all charge for tuition to students both indigent and meritorious, so that those who cannot pay may be taught without price. We would earnestly recommend a provision of this kind, as one of the most useful forms which private munificence could take. The donor might, it is true, gain more *éclat* by founding a professorship, which should bear his name down to posterity in connection with its honored incumbents ; but in no way could he act so surely upon coming generations for the advancement of literature and science, as by removing the obstacles which poverty puts in the way of so many youth of genius and promise.

Harvard College has, we doubt not, lost much patronage from its supposed connection with a particular religious sect. It is often spoken of as a sectarian institution. No imputation could be more unfounded. The whole administration of the College has, in this regard, been eminently catholic. The services at the College chapel are, indeed, conducted exclusively by Unitarian divines ; but the students are at liberty to attend the churches of the other denominations in the vicinity. Most of the professors and instructers, also, are Unitarians ; but Episcopalians and Calvinists have not been wanting on the board, whose religious sentiments have been well known at the time of their election; nor do we believe that a Unitarian, as such, would be elected to office in preference to another candidate of equal qualifications. We have been conversant with the administration of the College, both as a student and an instructer, and can bear our cheerful testimony, without fear of the production of a single fact to the contrary, that favoritism towards students on sectarian grounds is a thing unheard of, — that students of all denominations have been treated with equal fairness, justice, and kindness, — and that, for the petty offices, scholarships, and exhibitions, at the disposal of the faculty, the combined ratio of need and merit has constituted the only claim. Were we to make any exception to these remarks, we should refer to the presidency of Dr. Kirkland, and to his marked partiality for the beneficiaries of the American Education Society. He had, of course, no sympathy with their peculiar system of theology ; but he respected them on the score of their reputed piety, their exemplary morals, their healthful social influence, and the sacred profession for which they were destined ; and,

not unfrequently, he eked out, from his own private income, the scanty charity on which they were dependent.

But then there is the Unitarian Divinity school, which now constitutes a distinct department of the University, and must needs, in the eyes of the public, reflect back upon the College its own theological character. There it is, standing, we admit, where it ought not. It is our earnest desire and hope, that this school may soon be divorced from the College. But its existence results from no alienation of college funds for the benefit of sectarian theology. Its building was erected, its professors are supported, by funds bestowed by Unitarians, and with the express design and purpose of providing for the education of Unitarian clergymen; and for the clerical services which the professors perform for the whole University, they are left without compensation. No trust, therefore, would be violated, should the theological endowments be separated from the property of the College, and given to a distinct board of trustees; and such an arrangement, though not within the scope of a judicial tribunal, might be authorized by an act of special legislation. The building might then be sold, or devoted to other uses, and the school removed to some town, where it should have an independent existence, and be a distinct and prominent object of interest and patronage to the denomination with which it is connected. As friends of both institutions, we would advocate this measure. They would live best apart. The Divinity school is now overshadowed and dwarfed by the College, which, solicitous to shun the charge of sectarianism, doles out its support in scanty pecuniary justice, without extending to its interests the judicious supervision and beneficence, of which it stands in imminent need. Nor, so long as that school exists in nominal connection with the College, can the College, even by the utter neglect or disregard of its concerns, escape the imputation, among ignorant and bigoted people, of lending its influence and patronage to the growth of Unitarianism.

In this connection, we wish to say a few words with reference to the Hollis professorship of divinity. It is made a frequent ground of reproach to the University, that, while the statutes of the professorship require that its incumbent should be a man "of sound and orthodox principles," the venerable Dr. Ware, a well known Unitarian, should have

been for thirty-five years professor on the Hollis foundation. The statements made, and the documentary evidence adduced on this subject, in President Quincy's History of the University, ought to put this complaint for ever at rest. From this, it appears, that Hollis, himself a Baptist, was exceedingly reluctant to admit into the articles of his foundation any religious test, except a recognition of the Scriptures as the "most perfect rule of faith and practice." He resisted the introduction of the very words "sound and orthodox," on the ground that New England orthodoxy laid at that time emphatic stress on the obligation of infant baptism; and, though, in a truly catholic spirit, he claimed not the exclusive benefit of his numerous benefactions for those of his own communion, he was unwilling, in express terms, to provide for their perpetual exclusion. Wearied by the importunity of his American friends, he at length consented to the insertion of the obnoxious words; and in fact, in the case of the first professor, his apprehensions were realized, — "the divine right of infant baptism" having been one of the points on which the candidate's orthodoxy was tested. The College corporation, therefore, in dispensing with all sectarian tests, in the case of Dr. Ware, complied with the expressly and repeatedly declared desire and purpose of Hollis.

But waiving this point, had an account current been kept between the salary of the Hollis professor and the endowment from which he derives his name, that endowment would have become extinct long before Dr. Ware's accession to the chair; and it would appear conclusively, that, prior to the close of the eighteenth century, the College had invested in orthodox divinity of the said century the entire principal and interest of this much vexed foundation. Hollis made provision for a salary of but forty pounds, — then deemed sufficient for the purpose, but subsequently found utterly inadequate. In fact, the funds of the professorship have long since been merged in the general funds of the College, and the continuance of the name of Hollis in connection with it is simply an appropriate expression of respect to the memory of an early and munificent benefactor. But as, in sectarian warfare, the refutation of a serious charge goes for naught, and as a professorship of divinity cannot but impart a sectarian aspect to the institution, why might it not be the wisest policy for the College to cancel that office, — now vacant, —

to abolish the chapel services on the Sabbath, and to make the performance of the daily devotional service the duty, as it formerly was, of a part or the whole of the faculty in rotation? We believe, that the religious good of the students would be more surely consulted by making them members of common Christian congregations; and, as for the service of morning and evening prayer, we should delight in the obligation which such a duty would impose upon the instructers to be themselves men of a devout spirit and a religious walk; and we should prize most highly, from our remembrances of former times, the influence and weight of character, which would accrue to them from the regular and appropriate performance of this service.

The causes already referred to go far towards accounting for the present condition of Harvard College, in regard to the number of undergraduates. Pecuniary considerations and sectarian preferences operate largely against it; and we doubt whether it can at present gain increased patronage, if its general course of study continue parallel with that pursued at other colleges, however much more accurate and thorough may be the instruction dispensed. A mere difference in degree will not be appreciated.

But why may there not be also a difference in kind? Why might there not be instituted at Cambridge a course of studies for students of much higher attainments than those now admitted,—a course, on which the graduates of other colleges might be just qualified to enter? The present instructers are amply competent to initiate their pupils into the most recondite branches of mathematical and physical science, and to conduct them through the most extensive course of classical reading. Many young men every year enter upon their professional studies prematurely, for the sole reason, that they otherwise have no opportunity of pursuing a regular and profitable course of study. There are many, who would not deem their education completed, so long as there was a higher seminary of learning, to which they could resort. Our highest standard of college education in this country is scandalously low. An intelligent and industrious youth of *sixteen* may easily reach the first university honors of the country, with attainments which would barely qualify him to enter a European university. A student at Cambridge, who continues his classical studies

through the whole four years, reads in Latin select portions of Livy, Horace, Juvenal, Cicero against Verres and De Officiis, the Medea of Seneca, and the Aulularia of Plautus, and in Greek a nearly equivalent amount. On the completion of this course, he is no more than well prepared to commence reading the classics, no longer as a task-work, but with taste, discrimination, and enjoyment. Even this is a higher point than a student can reach anywhere else in the country. It is absurd, then, to speak of the *amount* of classical requirements and attainments at any of our seminaries of learning; they must be estimated in the style in which Dickens gives the dimensions of the Lilliputian steamboat on the Connecticut, — "thirty feet *short* by six feet *narrow*."

But at Cambridge, even this brief and scanty measure of classical learning can be attained only by entire abstinence from several important branches of general culture, and by comparative neglect of the modern languages. If pupils were received at Harvard at nearly the point of literary acquisition, at which they are now sent forth, the institution would become at once, and long continue, without a rival, the University of America. Studious young men from all other colleges, and from every part of the United States, would be drawn together there; and the list of undergraduates would soon exhibit as large a proportion of names from distant parts of the country, as does now that of the members of the Law school, nearly half of whom are from the Middle, Western, and Southern States.

Could such a course as this be established, many of the features of the German university system might be advantageously adopted. The studies to be pursued, the books to be read, might with propriety be left, in a great degree, to the option of the student. Recitations might, for the most part, be superseded by lectures, and by critical expositions of classical authors. The attainment of a degree might be made to depend on a series of thorough, searching examinations. The professors, under such a system, should depend in part for their compensation on the number of students, whom, by their talents and reputation, they could attract to their respective departments. We would not have them, however, without some fixed stipend. A man should be relieved from solicitude about his daily bread, in order that

he may devote himself freely and heartily to intellectual labor. But we would take a hint from the plan now generally adopted in respect to the masters of our freighting ships, who receive a monthly stipend sufficient for bare support, but depend for all beyond on a commission upon the freights that they can earn. We would have each professor paid by the College the lowest salary that would suffice for a respectable livelihood, and let him add thereto as much as he can by a tuition fee from every scholar who joins his classes or attends his lectures. On this plan, the College, with its present permanent sources of income, could support a larger number of professors than at present ; for, under such an arrangement, tutors and mere officers of police might be dispensed with, a senior professor might be the literary head of the University, and a treasurer might be the only salaried officer other than the professors.

An institution thus organized would be of incalculable benefit to the whole country. Its influence would be at once most sensibly felt in the (so called) learned professions. It would redeem them from the curse of extreme juvenility, under which the land groans. It would prescribe a thorough basis of liberal culture for those who aspire to eminence in professional life. It would fix the scholarly habits of its graduates, and make them reading, thinking, improving men for life ; whereas now, half of our graduates can exhibit, ten years after leaving college, no marks of a liberal education except its parchment testimonial. It would raise up a generation of scholars worthy of the name, and would enlist very many so earnestly and zealously in literary and classical pursuits, and give them such facility in the acquisition of knowledge, that they could not fail of attaining eminence as profound critics, original thinkers, and able writers.

But all this, desirable as it is, is more than we can at present expect; though we believe that Harvard University is destined, at some future time, to assume this position; and we cannot but trust, that, by calling the attention of our readers to the need of higher means of culture than are now enjoyed, we may have done something towards the ultimate supply of such means. Very different, however, from the plan which we have sketched, should be the system of discipline and instruction for the class of

students, that now, from year to year, enter the University. In marking out a suitable course for them, their average age should be taken particularly into the account. Accustomed to the juvenile aspect of the students at Cambridge, we seem to ourselves, when on the grounds of any other college, to be among the posterity of Anak. On our first visit to Dartmouth College, we met the entire senior class coming from a recitation, and, judging from their athletic forms and bronzed faces, that they were the substantial young yeomanry of the neighbourhood, then at the village to attend some *caucus* or merry-making, we asked, after they had gone by, "Why do we meet no students?" The members of that college are capable of casting so large a vote, that the reigning party in the State have thought it necessary to incur the odium of disfranchising them, — a game, which, at Cambridge, would not be worth the candle. The majority of the students at Cambridge are the growth of the most approved system of hot-bed cultivation; as Freshmen, they are microscopic objects; they take their degrees in early boyhood; and our venerable University is fast becoming, in a double sense, "*gentis cunabula nostræ.*"

For students generally so immature in years, and with a course of preparatory study so limited as is the case at present, we cannot but deem the system of elective studies highly inexpedient. There is, indeed, a point, at which students, who have previously pursued the same course, ought to diverge, and thenceforward to shape their plan of study with reference to their respective tastes, professions, or destinations in life. But by placing this point of divergence too early, though you may not, indeed, disqualify the student for success in any one profession or calling, you incur the risk of sending him forth into life with a disproportioned, one-sided, defective education. We grant, that, in order to preach acceptably, to maintain a lawsuit successfully, or to blister, bleed, and purge, a man needs acquaintance neither with Horace nor with Homer, and has little occasion to refer to fluxions or to conic sections. But the country is flooded with these professional hacks, — with men, who are adroit and popular in the routine of professional duty, but who could be termed literary men only by the grossest of misnomers. Such men are produced with sufficient rapidity without aid from our colleges. The ob-

ject of a college education is not, or should not be, to qualify a young man for entering upon his professional studies, but to give him literary tastes and intellectual habits, to spread before him the various departments of learning in their mutual relations and bearings, to make him acquainted in each department with the sources of knowledge and the modes of investigation, to awaken his curiosity on a wide range of subjects, and to make him, wherever his lot is cast, the judicious friend and patron of education and of all liberal pursuits. In order to do this, the student should acquire a sufficient knowledge of other languages than his own, to fix in his mind the great principles of general grammar and comparative philology, and to acquaint him with the sources and relations of his own vernacular tongue. He should read enough of the classics to give him correct ideas of that early Greek and Roman culture, which has transfused itself into every form of modern civilization, art, and literature. He should study mathematics so far as to train his mind to accurate reasoning, and to gain some adequate conception of the processes by which calculations are made and results reached in astronomy and its kindred sciences. In metaphysics and ethics, he should at least learn the history of the principal theories and systems, should be made aware of the points at issue and the state of the controversy on each, and should be put in possession of waymarks to guide him in his future inquiries and reflections.

Now, the student at Cambridge may perform creditably all that is required of him, and yet may make such a choice of studies as to leave himself grossly deficient in some of these essential branches of a good education. He may read in Latin only Horace and a part of Livy, or, in Greek, Xenophon's Anabasis, two books of the Odyssey, and a book or two of Herodotus. He may suspend the study of either or both of these languages at the end of his first year, without having attained any good degree of ease or skill in reading Latin or Greek, and at precisely that stage of acquisition, at which what has been learned will surely be forgotten, or at most enough only will be retained to enable him, by much conjuring, to divine the sense of a random classical quotation. In mathematics, he may study merely an elementary treatise on geometry, part of a treatise on algebra, and the formu-

las of plane and spherical trigonometry, omitting their "applications to navigation, surveying, and spherical astronomy"; and he may thus go through life, a liberally educated man in his own esteem, without any knowledge of the principles on which the laws of the visible universe are ascertained and its phenomena calculated, or even of the way in which the navigator finds his place at sea, or the surveyor the area of a many-angled field. A graduate thus deficient in either of these branches of education is not prepared to be even an intelligent member of a high-school committee, or trustee of an academy, or to ascertain the qualifications of a teacher. He cannot in any community assume the place, fulfil the trusts, and discharge the duties, that are by common consent yielded to men of collegiate education. He must through life incur the liabilities and bear the burdens, not only of an imperfectly educated man, but, what is much worse, of one who purports to be what he is not.

Some, who coincide with these views in the main, contend that they need to be modified in the mathematical department; for, say they, there are many good minds that seem to have a natural inaptitude for mathematical reasoning. But we are disposed to think, that even such minds may gain in vigor and comprehensiveness by the effort of mathematical study, even though they make imperfect recitations, and are conscious of retaining very little of what they learn. There might, however, be two distinct courses of mathematics, between which the student might have his option, — one, which, in addition to the present *minimum* course, should embrace the applications to navigation, surveying, and astronomy, now omitted, — and one which should initiate the student into those branches that demand a knowledge of the differential and integral calculus.

One capital objection to the plan of elective studies is, that, in nine cases out of ten, the choice will be made by the very party that ought not to make it, — by the student himself. Many parents are unable to make a judicious choice for their sons, and many others will feel unwilling to interfere with the choice which their sons may make. Most of the students are too young to be trusted to mark out their own course of study, and that is the very reason why they are at college, instead of studying at their own homes. A

youth of sixteen, even if he be a Sophomore, has not self-knowledge enough to discriminate between whim and taste, disinclination and incapacity, love of letters and love of ease. He knows too little of his future life to determine what branches of knowledge will be of most avail in after-years. He will be affected by the love of learning and the thirst for knowledge less than by a thousand other motives. If indolent, he will choose the easiest course. If studiously disposed, he yet may select studies for which he has already formed a taste, in preference to those for which he ought to acquire a taste. If ambitious, he will enter the classes in which he knows that he can excel, instead of supplying deficiencies in the branches in which he has been imperfect. There is an essential truth implied in that well known hymn, which breathes a prayer for

"Not what we wish, but what we want."

A youth's wishes and wants are very apt not to coincide, and his choice of studies would always be governed by his wishes, not by his wants. In most cases, he would need, for the just balance of his powers, and the fit proportion of his culture, diligent discipline in precisely the studies which he would not choose, or would abandon at an early period in his course.

It is said, indeed, that the experiment of elective studies has resulted in the production of better classical and mathematical scholars than were sent from Cambridge previously, and in a most manifest improvement in the appearance of the scholars at their examinations. Of this we have no doubt. Let a similar experiment be tried in any common school; let only the bright or the willing boys be put upon the more difficult branches of study, and let the dull and lazy be kept upon the primer and the spelling-book, and that school will turn out eminently good scholars, and will outshine all others in its public examinations. But the parents of the neglected boys would feel themselves authorized to make loud and bitter complaints of the teacher, who, without dismissing them from his school, made no attempt to extend to them its full privileges. Had we a son in whose talents and application we had entire confidence, we should certainly send him to Cambridge under the present *régime*; but were he not above mediocrity, we should fear that his

interests would be sacrificed to those of his more capable and diligent fellow-students. Youth of inferior capacity, or of less studious habits, ought either to be dismissed from college, or, if retained, should have all possible diligence and effort bestowed upon them to bring them as near as may be to the standard of the more highly endowed or the more industrious. With regard to the practical working of the system of instruction under discussion, we dare not trust the judgment of the instructers themselves, for whom, nevertheless, we entertain sentiments of the highest respect and esteem. Their time is now, no doubt, more fully and much more pleasantly occupied than under the former system ; they are surrounded by more striking evidences of proficiency than before; and it is hardly possible that they should not feel most sensibly every advantage, and be blind to every evil, flowing from the plan now in operation.

The present system does injustice to the public, as well as to the individual students. A diploma from the first literary institution in the country ought to be *primâ facie* evidence that the student has at least passed through, without scandalous delinquency, certain essential departments of a liberal education. It is an imposition upon the whole community, to confer a title declarative of respectable literary attainments upon a young man oblivious of what Latin and Greek he once knew, with a little French and a little Spanish, a *quantulum* of wayside knowledge gleaned from lecture-rooms, and a smattering of half a dozen branches of science, that might as well have been studied at a country academy. It is said, indeed, that the certificates of proficiency in different departments, which accompany the diploma, must be sought as the true evidence of what the graduate has accomplished and attained. What, then, is the use of the diploma ? The certificates can never be a matter of public notoriety ; the diploma is so, nor ought it ever to be conferred, where in justice those certificates would need to be withheld.

But it is said, that there are many young men, preparing for mercantile and active life, who want little classical learning, and need not the higher branches of mathematics, who, if they can choose their own studies, will be induced to pass through college. There are also many bachelors, who wear broadcloth, yet buy no groceries, but would buy their

broadcloth of the grocer, if he would keep a good assortment. Is he therefore bound to sell broadcloth? The University is not obliged to furnish to order all kinds and measures of education. Its avowed object is the cultivation of the higher departments of literature and science; nor can it justly be expected to supply wants of a different class. If a young man desires an education of a lower grade, there are numerous high-schools and academies adapted to the measure of his desire. Or, by a long standing regulation of the University, he may there become a student in certain departments, without being a candidate for a degree. But if, after pursuing this partial course, he wishes to palm himself upon the world as a man of liberal education, let not the University by its parchment become an accomplice in the fraud.

We would have, then, the regular course of college studies the same for all. We would have it adapted in kind and quality to the average capacity of the students. Some may break down on the course; let them leave the ground. Others may be able to do more; let them select voluntary studies sufficient to fill their time and task their powers, without expecting these studies to have any weight in the scale of merit, or the conferment of college honors.

We pass to another head of remark. For students as young as those at Harvard generally are, we doubt whether the rigid forms of thorough recitation can be relaxed to advantage. Scholars of their age have seldom formed self-dependent habits of study; they are still, in a great degree, eye-servants; they have much, in the buoyancy of their spirits, and in the attractions of society, to render close application difficult; and lessons, in which they are not thoroughly examined, will be in many cases slighted. At that age, too, the power of continuous attention to the living voice is but imperfectly developed, and mere lecturing or exposition would be in a great degree wasted. We would not, however, have recitation the sole class exercise, even in a single instance; nor would we tolerate an instructer who could be nothing more than a task-master. Let familiar explanations and comments be offered upon every lesson; but let the teacher never fail to ascertain whether his pupils have performed the assigned exercise with fidelity.

It seems to us, that there prevails in the public mind a mistaken notion as to the kind of men needed for the officers of instruction in a college. The common idea is, that he who has the most learning, or exhibits the highest order of genius in any branch of knowledge, must of course be the best professor in that department. This by no means follows as a matter of course. Those most swift to learn are not always the most apt to teach. Genius is often hasty and impatient. It is a comparatively easy thing to instruct youth of quick apprehension and industrious habits, to descant to eager listeners on the beauties of an ancient author, or to glide with rapid step through a series of mathematical reasoning, touching "*summa fastigia rerum*," and leaving intermediate processes, and references to first principles, to the ready wit of the apt and well trained scholar ; and for such work a man of commanding talents and high attainments is always competent. But the college teacher has a far different task. He must not only himself occupy the serene heights of literature and science, but must know how to let down the golden chain to those below. He must have a mind at once comprehensive of great principles and minute in details. He must sustain and feed the enthusiasm of the ardent and persevering scholar ; and at the same time, with the halting and inapt, he must take short steps where it would be easier to take long ; he must often retrace the ground already gone over; he must bring himself down to the most patient analysis, the most homely illustration, the most wearisome reiteration of dimly seen or soon forgotten principles. He must both lead the van and bring up the rear, keeping diligent account of the whole flock, being conversant with the idiosyncrasies of every mind, and, with ready skill, adapting modes of teaching and incentives to diligence to the infinitely various capacities with which he has to deal.

The practice of selecting for professorships men of somewhat advanced age and established eminence in other walks of life is, we believe, of American growth ; and so is the principle from which this practice takes its rise. "*Non omnia possumus omnes*" is deemed an axiom beyond dispute in every other portion of the civilized world ; and from it flows, as a legitimate deduction, the good old rule of St. Paul, "Let every man abide in the same calling where-

in he was called." In the European universities, professors are chosen young, and educate themselves for their work. They often spend their lives, from boyhood till a late old age, in the same university; and when they are chosen from without, success and eminence as teachers, no less than as scholars, are deemed requisite qualifications. But in this country, we regard a man who fills one place well as fit for any place; and the usefulness of very many men of high talents and attainments is undoubtedly greatly diminished by the absurd translation of them from spheres of duty, which they fill with eminent ability, to new positions and relations, demanding entirely different modes of study and forms of activity. Thus there is no such thing, in one's life, as "seeing the end from the beginning." A man who gains an enviable reputation as a physician is as likely, on the strength of that reputation, to be sent to Congress, as to be chosen to office in a medical society; while the accomplished statesman and diplomatist, for his character as such, may be deemed the most fitting candidate for a post of literary trust and honor. The extension of this principle to the government of a college may, indeed, reflect much temporary lustre on the institution, by associating with it a distinguished name, and may, in some instances, secure for the cause of education services of the highest value; but this latter result can never be foreseen and calculated, and, when it occurs, must constitute an exception to the almost universal rule. Therefore, though Harvard University has been, and is, happy in enjoying an unusual number of these exceptions, — though, in choosing her officers thus at haphazard, she has seemed to play with loaded dice, we are glad that she has of late set the example of educating her own professors within her own walls. We like the spirit of the old Harvard law, which entitled the tutor, who had acquitted himself well in office for a series of years, to a professor's chair. The tutors should be chosen from among those graduates who are deemed the most hopeful candidates for professorships. In this subordinate office, they should learn to teach and to govern, should themselves acquire and exemplify the spirit and the habits of true scholars, and should gain for themselves on college ground that consideration and regard, which the incumbent may command by his own merits, but which the mere office can never insure. And,

except in rare cases, professors should be chosen only from among those whose skill in the instruction and discipline of youth has been thus tested and approved.

In connection with these somewhat desultory remarks on college discipline, we would say a few words on one topic of prime importance; namely, the bodily health of the students. We fear that at Cambridge the ambition of the more industrious is stimulated too highly, that they are permitted to undertake too many exercises, and that, in the closeness of the competition, college honors are sought even at the risk of life. The last few years have been marked by a series of dangerous maladies and deaths among the high scholars of their respective classes, under circumstances which suggest the apprehension, that larger demands were made upon the intellect than the bodily frame could sustain. We have been told by the victims themselves, that they had frequently passed the whole night without retiring to rest, and that the only alternative has been to do thus, or to leave some exercise of the following day unprepared. There are, indeed, but few in each class, who will incur such hazards for the sake of preëminence; but those few are the very ones whose life and health should be most carefully cherished, and who, if deficient in prudence, ought to be defended against themselves. By the present regulations, a student may choose for himself, and take rank in, as many different departments of study, as will occupy him in recitations and at lectures for twenty-one hours in the week. There being seldom more than one exercise on Saturday, there remain four for each of the other five secular days. A good scholar can hardly spend on an average less than two hours in preparation for each exercise; so that, in adopting the legal *maximum* of study, he must give, each week, twelve hours a day to his desk and the recitation-room, for five days in succession. This some well matured and vigorous frames can sustain; not, however, without serious peril. But the students are generally too young to bear what one of mature years might endure. Many of them have not yet attained full stature, and are at the very season of life, when the free enjoyment of air and exercise is essential to insure compactness, health, and vigor to the physical frame. Three lessons a day, with two hours study upon each, are as much as can be performed with safety; and, if more time than this be spent in

literary pursuits, it might better be passed in some profitable course of reading, upon which the forecast shadow of the recitation-room did not rest.

Another arrangement, undoubtedly prejudicial to health, is that which crowds most of the lectures and recitations into the interval between breakfast and dinner. It is an arrangement of great convenience and comfort to the professors, who perform their services without solicitude, and whom the dinner-bell leaves to the free disposal of the residue of the day. But this plan bears a very different aspect, when considered with relation to the students. They sometimes pass four out of the five consecutive morning hours, sitting in a confined posture, and breathing the corrupt air of recitation-rooms ; and when this is over, they go to their chambers with the burden of the next day's work upon their minds. Three or even four lessons must be studied before they sleep; and how studied by the ambitious scholar ? His aim is not only to deposit them in his memory in a shape in which they may lie ready for future use, but to commit them with entire, minute precision, to have them connected in the memory with well chosen and graceful words, and to prepare himself to recite them with all possible facility and fluency, so as to constrain the instructer to give him the highest mark. Now, to study in this manner three or four lessons in as many successive layers, so carefully placed that they shall remain entirely separate one from another, is an anxious and wearisome task, and can hardly be sustained year after year, without making the eye dim, and the face pale and haggard, and the lungs easily accessible to disease. We earnestly hope for the restoration of the custom of former times, when the hours of study alternated with those of recitation, and the student had deposited one burden before he bowed to take up another. Then but one lesson, as the phrase ran, "was committed over night"; and of that the student was relieved before breakfast. The morning study-hours were closed by another recitation ; and the third was fixed at as late an hour in the afternoon as the season would permit. In those days, though there were hard students, there were few broken constitutions ; for the confinement of the recitation-room was too transient to inflict serious injury, and the hours of recitation were so arranged as to leave intervals, which invited the students, with

unburdened minds, to bodily exercise and relaxation. In offering these hints, we are at once redeeming a promise to the dead, and discharging a duty to the living. We would confidently appeal for their justice to the medical members of the *Senatus Academicus;* and will acknowledge ourselves in the wrong, if they will deliberately acquit the present arrangement of all injurious consequences.

Judge White, in his Address, discusses in detail the question of the expediency of domiciliating students within the walls of the College. He advocates the affirmative, in opposition to an able argument for the negative in Dr. Wayland's "Thoughts on the Collegiate System." We cannot but believe the plan of domiciliation, universally adopted in our American colleges, to be indispensably necessary, when considered with reference to the youth of so large a proportion of the students, and their constant need of the judicious supervision of those superior in years. We quote the following remarks of Judge White upon the influence exerted, mentally and morally, one upon another, by fellow-students within the college walls.

"The objection grounded on the moral dangers to the young, arising from their being so intimately associated in a community by itself, guided by its own 'unwritten code,' and in large numbers, of whom not a few may have been already addicted to habits of vice, is of a graver character, and demands a more extended notice.

"These dangers are not peculiar to bodies of students, still less to students resident within college walls; common boarding-houses certainly would not exclude them. The true remedy is to be sought in counteracting influences; and such influences, we know, exist in great strength at this University, and might, doubtless, be rendered yet more predominant.

"Entering college with good moral characters, and full of youthful aspirations, a vast majority of every class are ardent for virtue as well as for learning, and helpers of each other's joy and progress. If, as suggested, 'older residents influence for evil those who have more recently entered,' other older residents there are, of greater power and attraction, to influence for good. What ingenuous youth of Harvard ever failed to find in other classes, as well as in his own, lights and guides to cheer him on his way, models of virtue and scholarship to elevate his motives and his ambition?

"But the wicked, it is said, 'are much more zealous in making proselytes than the virtuous.' This we doubt. The moral energies of the people, so easily awakened in the cause of philanthropy, show the activity of virtue and benevolence; and none are more susceptible of sympathy in any such cause, than young men in the higher stages of their education; a sympathy, which, when properly directed and cherished, shields them from a thousand temptations.

"We are told, too, of 'the waste of time which must result from frivolous conversation, where the opportunities of conversation are so abundant.' But this, as we conceive, is not attributable to collegians more than to other young persons, nor to the young alone; older men, congregated in less numbers, have always been liable to the like charge, from the curious quidnuncs whom St. Paul encountered at Athens, to the last meeting on 'change.

"Nothing, indeed, is more natural, than for youth of studious minds and buoyant spirits *desipere in loco*, — in their hours of relaxation, to love the

> 'Sport that wrinkled care derides,
> And laughter holding both his sides.'

But, if abundant opportunities for conversation lead to excess of frivolous talk, they lead also to much intellectual converse equally rational and instructive. The memorable remark of Mr. Fox, that he had been more instructed by his friend Burke, than by all other men and books put together, strikingly illustrates the value of that mutual improvement which results from the companionship and familiar intercourse of intelligent minds. Young friends and fellow-students, frank and confiding, are open as the day to each other. Their mental acquirements become common property. Every individual, among many classmates, has many minds, instead of one only, at work for his improvement. A learned jurist, of the London University, observes, that 'young men, as far as their mutual information extends, are the best professors for each other.'

"Thus, in addition to all that the students obtain from college professors and teachers, they make continual advancement among themselves, both in knowledge and virtue, by mutual excitement, mutual instruction, and mutual influence; a fact which should make us less anxious to fill up with stated exercises the whole time of the more talented students in college. It has been remarked by a most competent judge, that a very great excellence of the English universities lies in the degree to which they call out voluntary energies and *con amore* study, — not oppressing the mind by enforcing too many studies at once, — the

lecturers being few, and the tutors rather directing and assisting the study of books, than presenting themselves instead of books." — *Address*, pp. 26 – 28.

With regard to the moral conduct and character of her students, we believe that Harvard College need not shun comparison with any similar institution in the country. There are, probably, fewer young men of rigid, ascetic morality there than at some other colleges; but we doubt whether there is anywhere else a nearer approach of the great majority of the students to a respectable moral standard. The moral tone of the College on many important subjects is firm and high. Meanness is never tolerated there; and the grosser forms of dissipation meet with general abhorrence. Wine, or a villanous compound to which the venders give that name, is the student's greatest enemy; convivial intemperance his chief danger. A vigorous stand against the use of wine was made a few years ago by some of the more thoughtful among the undergraduates; but the temperance society which they formed, unless recently endowed with new life, has been suffered to languish and to become inefficient. When we remember at what shining marks within those halls the demon of intemperance has taken fatal aim, when we recall to mind the consciousness of perfect safety and self-control professed by those who there commenced their swift march to a drunkard's grave, we feel constrained to appeal with earnestness to all who occupy places of trust, counsel, instruction, or influence in connection with the College, to aid in establishing within its walls the principle and habit of total abstinence from intoxicating liquors. It is the youth's only safeguard. In the excitement of merry society, unrestrained by the presence of those of maturer years, he is easily made blind to the limits between moderate and excessive indulgence; and, those limits once passed, the shame of drunkenness once incurred, the precedent is established for all future similar occasions. But with these students, precept will be vain without example. The preacher of abstinence must himself abstain. No matter if he can command by special importation the pure blood of the grape, and from the very hills whence flowed inspiration for Anacreon's song, while the grocer's back-shop is the student's Samos and Madeira;

the two will be drunk or thrown aside together. We trust that Harvard will not enjoy another year the unenviable distinction of being the only college in New England, that furnishes her *alumni* with intoxicating liquors at their Commencement and anniversary dinners. It is the earnest desire of very many of the best friends of the College, that there should on this point be a departure from ancient custom. They dare not hope, that wine-drinking will grow into discredit with the students, while the assembled learning, talents, and piety of New England make public exhibition of it on three consecutive days every year. We doubt whether any parties would feel aggrieved by the disuse of wine on these occasions. We have in former days tasted the wine of the Commencement dinner, and can record our unhesitating testimony, that it comes from the vintage which supplies the students ; it bears the same brand *ad nauseam ;* whatever fortunes it may have sustained on land, it is "*expers maris.*" No lover of wine ever thanked the Corporation for it ; but many dear lovers of their *Alma Mater*, many anxious parents, many youth rescued from the contagion of bad example, will "rise up, and call them blessed," if they will put away this nuisance. On this subject we gladly fortify our own opinions and suggestions by the weighty and judicious remarks of Judge White.

"Who of us can look back upon his classmates, without a most melancholy recollection of brilliant talents, generous affections, and fond hopes, all blasted by the scorching rays of alcoholic excitement? There now rises before me the image of a once loved classmate, the only son of his mother, the darling child of his father, a venerated clergyman, whose heart swelled with grateful joy at his son's early promise of excellence, but whose gray hairs were brought down in sorrow to the grave. And no near relative remains on earth, to check the freedom of these allusions, or to forbid the tribute which my heart would pay to the memory of one, whose life was as full of instruction to others as of unhappiness to himself.

"When this son of bright promise appeared among us, his pleasantry and social qualities attracted notice and regard, while his courteous manners and superior gifts of elocution gave him consequence with his associates. But his judgment was immature, and failed him most sadly. He it was who broached the idea of a *high-go*, as being requisite to give us a rank among the classes in college ; and he prevailed upon his classmates,

generally, to assemble at his room, on a winter's evening, to manufacture the noble article, bringing with them the necessary tools, in the shape of black bottles well filled. The morning's dawn disclosed the glorious result, in broken windows, broken bottles, and — broken character!

"The charm of a spotless academic reputation was gone from the class. The hero of the scene — but not alone — persisted in his maddening course to its fatal close, in mid-age, followed by tears, not curses, — this being his one great fault, for which he paid so dear. Naturally of a noble and generous disposition, and inheriting a liberal patrimony, he made what atonement he could to his *Alma Mater*, and by his last will enrolled himself among her distinguished benefactors. Peace to his memory! Honored be his virtues, which were all his own. His errors and miseries, and the agonies of hearts most dear to him, might have been avoided, had but that benign power, now by the good providence of God made known to us and placed in our hands, been present to protect him in his youthful career. His is but one of a thousand heart-rending tales.

"Who, upon these classic grounds, with such facts before him, would not be tempted to exclaim, in the magnanimous apostolic spirit, If wine make my brother to offend, I will drink no wine while the world standeth, lest I make my brother to offend!" — *Address*, pp. 34, 35.

We close our remarks with one additional suggestion. We wish that there were some mode, in which the students of the University could be brought into more intimate social relations with their instructers. We are aware, that some of the ancient barriers between teacher and pupil are removed, nor are we ignorant of the kind and persevering efforts of the present head of the College to introduce the students into social intercourse with the members of the faculty and their families. Yet there still remains too much of mutual distance and reserve. The forth-putting and self-confident among the students may, indeed, cultivate the acquaintance of their teachers, and feel always sure of a kind reception; but ought not the retiring and timid to be sought out, and made to feel that there are those ready and glad to stand to them *in loco parentis?* In former times, the intercourse between the *particular tutor* (so called) and the class under his charge partook somewhat of the parental and filial relation. The student felt at liberty to resort to the tutor of his class for special counsel and direction, whenever needed; and the

tutor often sought other occasions of meeting the individuals of his class than those of set exercises and formal college discipline. Might not an arrangement of this kind, carried out by a more minute subdivision of classes, meet a want, which many parents, that have sons in college, deeply feel, and of which the young men themselves have a vague and dreamy consciousness? According to this plan, there should be assigned to every member of the faculty his quota of students. With them it should be his duty to make himself acquainted, to study their characters, to watch over the formation of their habits, to give them advice on all subjects of importance, as to recreation, reading, and modes of study, and to act as their special moral guardian, in pointing out sources of danger and of evil, and in shewing to his pupils, both by precept and example, the "more excellent way." An arrangement like this would supersede in a great degree the severer, sterner portions of college discipline, would strike the axe at the root of reigning evils and abuses, and would go far towards establishing that sacred regard for moral obligation, without which mere literary attainments are empty and worthless.

We have thus passed in review the condition and wants of our University. We have done this in the spirit of sincere reverence and love. It has our warmest wishes, — it has had and shall still have our earnest, however feeble, efforts, for its enlargement and prosperity. We regard it as the chief hope of American scholarship. We forget not its early consecration, "*Christo et Ecclesiæ*"; and though, in the present distracted state of the New England church, we wish that there were no theological organization within its walls, we trust that its motto will be verified in all coming time, as it has been in days that are past, by the severe sanctity of manners and morals, and the unfeigned piety of heart, of those who guide its counsels and impart its instructions.

ART. III.—*The Works of* LORD BYRON *in Verse and Prose, including his Letters, Journals, &c., with a Sketch of his Life.* New York: A. V. Blake. 8vo. 1843.

THE revolution in the character of imaginative literature, which has taken place in the present century, had its most violent and convulsionary manifestation in Lord Byron. In an article on Wordsworth in our last number, we referred to some of the external influences which stimulated the genius of the great poets of the age, and laid particular stress on spiritual philosophy and the French Revolution. These two agencies, of course, were modified by the individual peculiarities of the poets they influenced. Wordsworth, in whose temperament the thoughtful element predominated over the impulsive, impressed on them the qualities of his own nature; and their effect on him is seen in the preëminence given in his writings to spiritual things and to humanity, to the imagination and the affections. On Byron, whose mind was naturally more under the dominion of sensibility, and rendered almost chaotic by suffering and error, the radical influences flowing from the French Revolution operated with more power, and were controlled by less moral and humane feeling.

Indeed, if any person can be pointed out as the mouthpiece of the harsher revolutionary spirit of his time, it is assuredly Lord Byron. The extraordinary popularity of his poems, and the notoriety of his life, have led to various essays on his character and writings, differing in object and mode of treatment, and all more or less one-sided. Denunciation and panegyric have both been lavished upon his name. Those who represent him as a fiend, seizing with a sort of diabolical instinct on all that is bad and impious, and overthrowing with a kind of ferocious energy all that is good and holy, and those who represent him as little less than a saint, seem equally to err; and the error of both arises in a great degree from an attempt to delineate a character which shall be consistent with itself. Byron may almost be said to have had no character at all. Every attempt to bring his virtues or his vices within the boundaries of a theory, or to represent his conduct as guided by any

predominant principle of good or evil, has been accompanied by blunders and perversions. His nature had no simplicity or unity. He seems an embodied antithesis, — a mass of contradictions, — a collection of opposite frailties and powers. Such was the versatility of his mind and morals, that it is hardly possible to discern the connection between the giddy goodness and the brilliant wickedness which he delighted to exhibit. His habit of mystification, of darkly hinting remorse for sins he never committed, of avowing virtues he never practised, increases the difficulty. From his actions, his private journals and correspondence, his poems, — from all those sources whence we derive a consistent idea of other writers, — it is hard to obtain a harmonious notion of him. It is quite easy to sustain any theory of his character, good, bad, or indifferent, by numerous extracts from his writings and undoubted events of his life. Friends or enemies need not droop for lack of materials to justify either blame or eulogy. Nothing can be more simple than to prove, that all in character and life which is ennobling and humane, and all that is debasing and inhuman, from writing hymns to parodying the ten commandments, found in him an able champion ; and that crime and goodness both glittered with new attractions, when seen through the dazzling medium of his diction. From his life and works we obtain the impression, that he was a glutton, and an ascetic ; a spendthrift, and a miser ; a misanthrope, and a cosmopolite ; an aristocrat, and a radical ; an infidel, and a believer ; a debauchee, and a mystic ; a cynic, and a sentimentalist ; a foul libeller of his species, and an eloquent defender of its rights, and a more eloquent mourner over its wrongs ; bewailing and denouncing the literary revolution which made his own writings popular ; pandering to a public which he despised ; pilfering from authors whom he ridiculed ; lashing his own bosom sins when committed by others ; in short, a man continually busy in giving the lie to his thoughts, opinions, tastes, and conduct.

When we reflect upon this assemblage of clashing qualities, these odd irregularities of opinion and action, we are prone to consider him as what somebody calls Voltaire, "a miraculous child." He appears a mere collection of veering fancies and impulses, making the voyage of life aimless and rudderless, blown about by every breeze of desire, tossed

about on every wave of passion. We can find in him no fixed principle of good or evil ; no thorough-going worship of god or devil. Yet this comfortable conclusion seems only to lead us deeper into the dilemma. Though apparently without any settled aim, no public man of his time could display a stronger will, could adhere to a purpose with more fixed and sullen obstinacy, could act out or write out with more power whatever he deemed fit. No poet ever stamped upon his writings a deeper impress of personality, or viewed outward objects in a manner more peculiar to himself. Every thing about him is intensely subjective, individual, Byronic, — whether writing "Childe Harold" or "Don Juan," — whether sipping the waters of Hippocrene, or the stronger waters of Holland and the Rhine.

In his relations with the public we perceive the same consistent inconsistency. He does not appear to have formed any distinct notions of the dignity or the importance of the poet's vocation. It would be difficult for the most acute analyst to find in his writings what was his theory of human life. Some of his works were published merely, as he expresses it, to "make a row." Others were reflections of his moods, rather than his opinions. The volatile libertinism of Lucio, and the gloomy fierceness of Timon, he adopted at pleasure. Self is ever uppermost in his mind. The whole world is called upon to listen to a recital of the joys and agonies of George Gordon, Lord Byron. Amidst this most bewildering confusion of qualities and attributes, we are still conscious that one personality circles through and pervades them all. In his coquetry with the public, he seems at once a despot and a slave. He tells his thousands of readers, that they are formed of more vulgar clay than he is, that he despises them from his inmost heart, that their life is engaged in a bustling oscillation between knavery and folly, and that all mankind is but a "degraded mass of animated dust." Yet he demands their sympathy for all his idiosyncrasies, sins, and errors, and bends his stern pride to follow whatever path of popularity changing circumstances may point out. His mouth is ever at the public ear, though it pour forth nothing but expressions of contempt and hatred. In whatever attitude he places himself, he evidently intends it to be one which shall excite admiration or horror. He could

bear hatred, calumny, the imputation of profligacy, the denunciation of the powerful, the censures of the good, — any thing which carried with it fuel for his sensibility ; but he could not bear neglect or indifference. An expression of contempt for any one of his works excited his ire more than the most hyperbolical expression of horror. The cool cockney, who said that "Don Juan" was "all Billingsgate," was lifted immediately into importance by the remark.

This dependence on the world, even on the weakest portion of it, by one who professed, in his towering misanthropy, to be superior to its praise or blame, is in marked contrast with the self-reliance of Wordsworth and Shelley. It was one of Byron's maxims, that the censure of the meanest of mankind is more painful, than the applause of the highest is pleasing. This was a singular opinion to be held by one who strove hard to rank himself among those "gigantic minds,"

> "Whose steep aim
> Was, Titan-like, on daring doubts to pile
> Thoughts which should call down thunder and the flame
> Of Heaven."

The unsettled condition of Byron's mind and character may be traced, in a great degree, we think, to the errors and calamities of his life. His misfortunes, however, enabled him the better to reflect the revolutionary spirit of his time. Suffering was his inspiration, and he gave utterance to the thousand and one miseries of his day. The poet of restlessness and impulse, his verse found an echo in many a heart whose unhappiness was voiceless. There was a great amount of passionate radicalism in the community, to which his poetry afforded strength and nutriment. He laid bare the cant of English society, and the corruption of the aristocracy, and lashed them with a whip of scorpions. He illustrated and denounced the social tyranny, by which thousands are driven into crime and prevented from returning to virtue. The arrows of his scorn fell fast and thick among the defenders of political abuses. The renegade, the hypocrite, the bigot, were made to feel the full force of his merciless invective. Wielding an uncontrolled dominion over language, and profusely gifted with all the weapons of sarcasm, hatred, and contempt, he battled fiercely in the service of freedom, and knew well how to overwhelm its adversaries

with denunciations and stormy threats, with ridicule and irony which should eat into their hearts, as rust into iron. He spoke with fiery energy and directness what was burning for expression in the hearts of thousands. The aggressive and destructive character of his political principles had a fierce charm for all whose passions had been wrought into intense or moody strength, by the contemplation of injustice and wrong. He gave voice not only to the political discontents of his time, but to the inward misery, the skeptical distrust of goodness and religion, the diseased sensibility, the half-formed opinions and mad impulses, which characterized the excitable spirits of his age. If he brought no balm to heal, he brought fire to stimulate. He was completely master of the whole rhetoric of despair and desperation. His wilfulness and caprice, the inconsistency not only between his writings and his conduct, but between one portion of his writings and another, far from injuring his influence, tended rather to add a new zest and interest to his compositions and actions. A man whose conduct is swayed by impulse instead of judgment, whose passions are dogmatic, while his intellect is skeptical, who has no distinct object in life to direct his energies, must necessarily exhibit the most glaring contradictions in his opinions and actions; and to these contradictions Lord Byron's sympathizing readers were as liable as himself.

It is a difficult task to determine how far the faults and errors of Byron are to be attributed to original disposition, to bad culture, or to circumstances over which he had no control. He seems to have been born with violent passions, but not specially gifted with intellectual power. The carelessness with which his education was conducted, and some early wounds of vanity and affection, strengthened this natural predominance of impulse over thought. We can see in his youth the same tendency to individualism, the same reference of all things to a personal standard, which characterized his manhood. Early in life, he was accustomed to brood over the mortifications of his vanity and pride, and to indulge in tempestuous outbreaks of passion when he was crossed in his caprices. He gradually came to consider the world as made for him, and unconsciously to subordinate the interests and happiness of others to his own. This selfishness and self-exaggeration were the bane of his life. He

seems never to have taken an enlarged and comprehensive view of society and the world, with reference to his own position in either. When he had committed some act of more than common turpitude, and reaped its natural results in sorrow and bitterness, he experienced a kind of grim satisfaction in throwing the blame upon others. If he had not been deformed in his foot, or if Miss Chaworth had not loved another, or if Lady Byron had not loved herself, the thing would not have happened. This tone of complaint was unmanly and boyish. It was more a revelation of the sufferer's weakness than of the world's injustice. At one time, he seems to have seen through this thin self-deception, and acknowledged that

> "The thorns which I have reaped are of the tree
> I planted; they have torn me and I bleed;
> I should have known what fruit would spring from such a seed."

But, generally, he appears to have been deluded by his passionate selfishness into the belief that his crimes were his misfortunes. This appears exquisitely ridiculous in Mr. Richard Swiveller, and nothing but genius could ever have made it any thing else in Byron.

It was not until he felt the reaction of the selfishness and the opinions of others upon his own, that he revealed the energies of his nature. He certainly would never have been a great poet, had he been a contented man. The attempt to crush opposition, to compel others to acknowledge the claims of his selfishness, wrought his powers into intense action. His strength was the strength of madness and desperation. The first volume of his poems gives no evidence of the power afterwards displayed in "Cain" and "Manfred." They were probably admired by his friends, previous to their publication, and his vanity was satisfied. Then came the stinging and contemptuous *critique* in the Edinburgh Review. The rage which this provoked was the inspiration of the "English Bards and Scotch Reviewers." It is amusing to observe, in this publication, how he not only wreaks vengeance on his reviewer and on all connected with him, but runs a-muck through the streets, and stabs every author that comes in his way. His wounded pride demands a whole hecatomb of victims, the innocent as well as the guilty. It would seem as if the most superficial consideration must have taught him, that many of the feeble poets

whom he lashed had only committed his own sin, that of publishing trifling verses, which had been unduly puffed by journals of little authority; and that the severity of his attack upon them was only a confirmation of the justice of the *critique* on himself. But the pith and nerve of his invective indicated that his mind in its "Hours of Idleness" was a very different thing from his mind in its hours of excitement. The success which his vigorous, but indiscriminate, satire met was balm to his irritated pride; but it pampered some qualities of his nature, which it would have been for his happiness to have stifled. It told him, that he possessed power to fight his way through the world, and to overbear any opposition to his conduct, no matter on what principles of right or wrong it was founded.

We think that this egotism or selfishness in Byron was the parent of many of his vices, inasmuch as it emancipated his mind from the burden of those duties which grow out of man's relations with society. Feeling conscious of strong impulses, and taking pleasure in asserting his independence of the world's code of opinion, he early plunged into vicious excesses. It is well known, that the time which elapsed between the publication of the "English Bards and Scotch Reviewers," and his first visit abroad, was not spent in practising the "Whole Duty of Man." The recklessness with which he indulged in libertinism was only equalled by the detestable coolness with which he referred to it. In a letter to Hodgson, in 1810, he makes the candid confession, that he has found "that nothing but virtue will do in this d——d world. I am tolerably sick of vice, which I have tried in all its agreeable varieties, and mean, on my return, to cut all my dissolute acquaintance, leave off wine and carnal company, and betake myself to politics and decorum." On his return to England, he changed this amiable determination, so far as decorum was concerned, though he paid some little attention to politics. The publication of the first and second cantos of "Childe Harold," the great and immediate fame which attended it, and his introduction to the "world of London," to run a new career of brilliant profligacy, constituted one of the eras of his life. Up to this time, his bad qualities do not appear to have become hardened, and, though licentious and careless of restraint, he could hardly be called extremely dissolute. The power of

his genius, likewise, had not been fully developed by circumstances. His mind was also very unsettled, and might perhaps have received a much better direction than it took. In his letters and journals during the period which followed, we see him in a variety of aspects, — sorrowful, misanthropic, proud, vain, "every thing by turns, and nothing long." He seemed determined to drain the wine of life to the dregs, and to excel in all the pleasant methods of disposing of health, peace, and happiness, which a great metropolis affords. There is a singular blending of flippancy and desperation in his letters and journals at this period. The profanity, ribaldry, and brilliancy, with which they are garnished, the striking thoughts and fancies with which they teem, and the mode of life and condition of mind which they reveal, can hardly be paralleled in the private records of any other man of genius. His ambition was both high and mean, and seemed bent on those objects which would redound to his shame, as well as those which would crown him with glory. He mingled with the wise, the learned, the witty, the beautiful, the dissolute, with equal ease; and he appeared determined to be excelled by none either in literature or licentiousness. He aimed at being both a poet and a man of the world, — Plato and Lord Rochester in one. The impressibility of his mind led him to adopt the standard of each company into which he was thrown. He gradually lost all moral fear. Every thing sacred in life, religion, affection, sentiment, duty, virtue, he could as easily consider matter for mirth as for serious meditation. His love of epigram overcame his moral sentiments and his poetic feeling. His wit was great, for the very reason that it had no restraint from his conscience, and invaded sanctuaries into which the wit of others hesitated to enter. Since the publication of his letters, we discover that his wife, his most intimate friends, even his own cherished feelings, were not safe from its shafts. His whole correspondence is characterized by a brilliant recklessness, in which profanity and coarseness are prominent elements. His letters are richly studded with those emphatic expletives with which wagoners favor their horses.

But it was not until Byron left England for the second time, and for ever, that the condition of mind which his irregularities produced was fully displayed to the world.

He went burning with indignation at real or imagined wrongs, and smarting with the consequences of his errors. From this period, his hatred and contempt of the world deepened in intensity and power, and lent a corresponding strength to his faculties. His residence on the continent filled the measure of his glory and his shame. The splendor, fertility, and daring of his mind, and the hoarded scorn and fiery passion of his heart, were allowed to have full and free expression. His genius "fed on poisons," and they became nutriment to it. There was the same inconsistency in his conduct and writings as before, but his capacity for good and evil had both increased. In almost every thing that he wrote, while on the continent, we perceive the mark of great talent. His letters from Italy, alone, — things thrown off in every variety of mood, and some of them bearing strong evidence of the bottle, — display more genius than can be found in all the first two cantos of "Childe Harold." His mind, restrained by no permanent feelings of delicacy, of decorum, of moral or religious duty, and stirred into action by such powerful stimulants as revenge and scorn, developed capacities of which his previous writings had given little evidence. The most sublime and beautiful, as well as the most debasing, portions of his writings, belong to this period of his life. "The Corsair" seems tame, when compared with "Cain"; and the misanthropy of "Lara" apppears weak beside the misanthropy of "Manfred." The vivid imagination, which glows and glitters in the flood of passionate feeling that overwhelms the reader in the fourth canto of "Childe Harold," had absolutely no existence in the "Hours of Idleness." And nothing that he had written could boast the variety of description, the wit, the satire, the knowledge of the world, the grace and affluence of fancy, the sovereign command of expression, which surprise and delight us amid the filth and mockery of "Don Juan."

Over all these works, amid their most brilliant shows of wit and imagination, are thrown the sable hues of misanthropy and despair. They are all held in the bondage of one frowning and bitter feeling. They all bear the impress of one versatile, but not comprehensive, mind. They are all fruits of one individual's peculiar experience of life. They all display the gulf of darkness and despair, into which great genius is hur-

ried, when it is delivered over to bad passions. The lesson they teach is degrading. It casts doubt and insecurity on the noblest objects of life. It is the philosophy of madness and misery, teaching that all happiness is shadowy, all aspiration futile.

> "We wither from our youth, we gasp away —
> Sick — sick; unfound the boon — unslaked the thirst,
> Though to the last, in verge of our decay,
> Some phantom lures, such as we sought at first —
> But all too late, — so are we doubly cursed.
> Love, fame, ambition, avarice — 't is the same,
> Each idle — and all ill — and none the worst,
> For all are meteors with a different name,
> And Death the sable smoke where vanishes the flame."

Such consolatory philosophy as this would not seem to carry with it any charm, derived either from its truth or its attractiveness. Though it speaks for the human race, it is still but the diseased experience of one heart, having no general truth either in the nature of man or the nature of things. It is no more philosophical than it would be for a thief, on his way to the gallows, to conclude that men were born to be hanged, — or for a bad poet, on his way to oblivion, to conclude that books were written to be damned. Misanthropy is a malady of the mind; all men are not misanthropical, any more than all men are diseased. In itself, this condition of the soul has few attractions, except for those who can sympathize with it, or whose own experience echoes its teachings. But in Byron it is often accompanied by qualities which either soften its harshness, or give it altogether the lie. It is most seductive, when blended with things whose reality it denies. The gloom of his meditations is laced with light in all directions. Touches of pathos, tributes of affection, gushes of passionate feeling, gleams of beauty, kindling utterances for freedom and humanity, — these continually appear in company with a cynicism which sneers at the objects to which they appeal, or despair which doubts their existence.

We now propose to hazard a few observations on the nature of Byron's perversions of his genius, followed by an examination of the spirit which animates "Manfred" and "Cain," and concluding with some acknowledgment of the force of his delineations, and the exquisite delicacy of some of his perceptions of beauty and goodness. It is hard-

ly possible to do this without a seeming inconsistency; for a distinction is to be made, not only between his life and his writings, but between one portion of his writings and another. We must admit, that, however Satanic some of his compositions may be, and however depraved the tone of much of his meditation, he never lost a keen perception of the pure and the beautiful; and that, in action, he was neither so bad nor so good as he was in thought.

Byron's misanthropy, real or affected, sometimes induced him to give prominence to qualities essentially unpoetical. The frequent perversion of his powers, and the unhealthy moral atmosphere which surrounds some of his most splendid creations, have given point to a sarcastic epigram, which declares that his ethical system is compounded of misanthropy and licentiousness, the first command of which is, "Hate your neighbour, and love your neighbour's wife." Coarse appetites, selfish passions, flippant impieties, a sullen hatred of mankind — things generally deemed base and degrading in themselves, — he could so represent, by cunning tricks of diction, as to confer upon them a factitious beauty and dignity. "Paint not the sepulchre of thyself, and strive not to beautify thy corruption," was a remark of an old English writer, and Byron might have practised on it to advantage. If we analyze some of the beautiful passages in "Manfred" and "Childe Harold," we shall find, that the beauty is rather in appearance than in substance, in the outward show and dress of the sentiment rather than in its spirit, in words more than in ideas. Translated into plain prose, they would seem either horrible or laughable. In this, one of Byron's many characteristics, he reverses a peculiarity of Wordsworth. The latter evolves the latent beauty residing in objects which appear mean and unpoetical to the eye; Byron casts the drapery of the beautiful over things intrinsically mean and bad, and renders them poetical to the eye. Wordsworth would experience the same satisfaction in delineating a peasant or a pedler, which Byron would find in drawing a philosophical debauchee or a sentimental pirate. The former, placing a confiding trust in the essential dignity and elevation of his theme, is contented with simplicity of diction; the latter, feeling the unworthiness of his subject, dazzles and blinds the eye with a blaze of words. If Wordsworth is inclined to make poverty and peasants too elevated, Byron is

disposed to make piracy and robbers too respectable. Both superadd imaginary attributes upon the realities which the names of their characters suggest; but one aims to shed beauty over humble virtue, the other labors to make vice splendid.

If Byron, in his bitter and reckless moods, took pleasure in idealizing the bad, he received no less in degrading the ideal. To his haughty and self-aggrandizing will, it seemed, that the force of his genius could alter the relations and distinctions of things, and make both the moral and natural world dependent on the caprices of his sensibility. His readers were to be his vassals, and reflect the changes of his own feelings. He loved power for its own sake, and took delight in its mere exercise. An impulse or a whim he would obey, as other men obey a law or a principle. And then he seems, at times, a mere actor, with the world for his audience, striving to produce brilliant effects, and by no means careless of the applause of the pit. "Don Juan," it is probable, best reflects his mind and character in their general aspects. It resembles his private letters and journals more than any of his other works. It is full both of intensity and recklessness. Pictures of beauty are painted with hues "that are words, and speak to ye of heaven," only to be rudely daubed with an impatient dash of the same pencil that wrought their exceeding loveliness; majestic edifices are erected, only to be overthrown; statues, full of life and earnest feeling, are created, only to be dashed petulantly to pieces.

Indeed, Byron experienced great delight in producing those "brisk shocks of surprise," which come from the yoking together of the mean and the exalted, the coarse and the tender. Some of these do little credit to his heart, and, in fact, cast "ominous conjecture" on the truthfulness of his feelings. Thus, in the description of Haidee leaning over the sleeping Juan, one of the most beautiful pictures in poetry is sacrificed to the scoffing demon of his wit:

> "Like to an angel, o'er the dying
> Who die in righteousness, she leaned; and there
> All tranquilly the shipwrecked boy was lying,
> As o'er him lay the calm and stirless air.
> But Zoë the mean time some eggs was frying;
> Since, after all, no doubt the youthful pair
> Must breakfast, and betimes — lest they should ask it,
> She drew out her provision from the basket."

Again, a most warm and fanciful description of a rainbow closes in imagery drawn from pugilism :

> " A heavenly chameleon,
> The airy child of vapor and the sun,
> Brought forth in purple, cradled in vermilion,
> Baptized in molten gold, and swathed in dun,
> Glittering like crescents o'er a Turk's pavilion,
> And blending every color into one, —
> Just like a black eye in a recent scuffle
> (For sometimes we must box without the muffle)."

A fine poetic consecration of one of the holiest feelings of the human heart, in " Childe Harold," ends with a touch of misanthropy, conceived in the very ingenuity of despair :

> " When the wife,
> Blest into mother, in the innocent look,
> Or even the piping cry of lips that brook
> No pain and small suspense, a joy perceives
> Man knows not, — *when from out its cradled nook*
> *She sees her little bud put forth its leaves,*
> What may the fruit be yet? — I know not — Cain was Eve's."

A great deal of this perversion of imagination and levity of feeling, in Byron, we are willing to attribute to waywardness or affectation. But there are passages in his works, which are not merely licentious in tendency, but openly obscene. The higher literature of the present century is, in general, untainted with that impurity of thought and grossness of expression, which have too often characterized other brilliant periods of English letters. Lord Byron has the questionable honor of being an exception to this remark. Some portions of his works, for ribaldry and impiety, fairly bear off the palm from all other dabblers in dirt and blasphemy. At one period of his life, towards its close, he seems to have felt no responsibility to the world or to his own fame in the exercise of his talents. Much of this recklessness is, doubtless, to be laid to the intense bitterness of many of his miseries. In these moods, however, though his wit is often keen and his fancy affluent, he rarely raises a hearty laugh. The unhappiness which prompts the malignant jest is seen and felt, amid all the vivacity and glare of the expression. A person unacquainted with the character of Byron would infer from these bold and bad portions of his poems and letters, that his soul was the seat of obdurate malice. They seem to illustrate what Dr. Johnson calls " the frigid villany of studious lewdness, the calm malignity

of labored impiety." They are singularly hard, cold, almost inhuman, in their tone of wickedness. They have none of that soft and graceful voluptuousness, with which poets usually gild and humanize sensuality, and of which Byron himself was, when he pleased, so consummate a master. To denounce them in the usual language applied to immoral works would not do justice to the depth of their turpitude. They enable us to understand what the old scholastic meant, when he called poetry "the devil's wine." They carry us back to the brilliant depravities of Congreve and Wycherly, when virtue was a jest, and piety the mark of a despised Puritan; but they are permeated with a power, to which those rakes of the drama could present no claim. To judge of Byron, however, by these alone, or to build up a theory of his character with these as a basis, would be to do him injustice. In themselves, they are worthy only of unalloyed detestation; but they merely illustrate one of the numerous phases of the author's nature. They are the foul offspring of those moments when he hated himself, the world, and heaven; when all the bitterness of irreligion and misanthropy, and all the noisome vapors arising from the dregs of bad passions, were blended in a frightful union with art and imagination; the reaction from those moods, when, to use his own words,

> "His mind became,
> In its own eddy, boiling and o'erwrought,
> A whirling gulf of fantasy and flame."

We do not wish to dwell on these foul blots on Byron's fame, or to penetrate into those recesses of his heart where they had birth. Misanthropy, when displayed in wit, satire, and mockery, is a more pitiable object than misanthropy in the darkest hues of despair. It is in "Cain," "Manfred," and the fourth canto of "Childe Harold," — especially in the two former, — that we are to look for the prominent features of Byron's peculiar view of life, and the nature of his influence upon his age. This leads us to the consideration of what Southey stigmatized as the "Satanic school of poetry," or the poetry of sin. In the works to which we have referred, Byron gives us the heroism of wickedness and misery, — guilt, conscious of itself, and wrung with remorse, yet proud of its power of endurance, and daring and defying heaven and hell, in the full view of the consequences of its acts. It is remorse without repentance, —

misery that seeks neither hope nor alleviation. All weak emotions are discarded from its dark catalogue of crime and suffering. It deifies self-will, and is impatient of imperfection, not of good, but of evil. The bonds of clay, that check the energies of the mind, it feels as a limitation and a curse. It plucks its illustrations from those aspects of nature, where life flourishes in desolation, and is triumphant over all obstacles to its growth and strength:

> "From their nature will the tannen grow
> Loftiest on loftiest and least sheltered rocks,
> *Rooted in barrenness*, where naught below
> Of soil supports them 'gainst the Alpine shocks
> Of eddying storms; yet springs the trunk, and mocks
> The howling tempest, till its height and frame
> Are worthy of the mountains from whose blocks
> Of *bleak*, *gray granite* into life it came,
> And grew a giant tree; — the mind may grow the same."

The answer of this misanthropy to all entreaties for repentance is, in the moody phrase of Manfred, — "It is too late." It can exist without happiness. Cain asks Lucifer, in reference to the rebel angels, —

> "Are ye happy?
> *Lucifer.* *We are mighty.*
> *Cain.* Are ye happy?
> *Lucifer.* No! Art thou?"

But if happiness be not needed, neither is there a sting to death, though the soul be laden with unrepented sins. The last words that Manfred utters, as he turns his glazing eyes to the man of God by his side, are the most awful in the drama:

> "Old man! 't is not so difficult to die."

That is, hell can be borne!

Suffering, in natures thus lifted from the mass, and strong in the heroism of despair, needs no aid from piety and human feeling, but can be endured unshrinkingly by the mind, — "itself an equal to all woes."

> "Existence may be borne, and the deep root
> Of life and sufferance make its firm abode
> In bare and desolated bosoms: mute
> The camel labors with the heaviest load,
> And the wolf dies in silence."

Prometheus, whose "impenetrable spirit earth and heaven could not convulse," is the ideal of this patient endurance of

torture; for Byron was not ever the champion of noisy miseries and talkative despair, but could feel the power of

> "Silent suffering, and intense;
> The rock, the vulture, and the chain,
> All that the proud can feel of pain,
> The agony they do not show,
> The suffocating sense of woe,
> Which speaks but in its loneliness,
> *And then is jealous, lest the sky*
> *Should have a listener, nor will sigh*
> *Until its voice is echoless.*"

Hope and joy, to this stern misanthropy, are bubbles that break in every breath of experience. No one can escape the inevitable doom. The only relief is to be sought in a sullen endurance of misery, which takes a grim delight in the consciousness of the capacity to suffer; or in a strength of will, which would scale the "cherubim-defended battlements" of heaven, and quail not before the "fire-armed angels," in its rhapsodies of meditation. Those who, when once deceived by hope, weave again the same web of delusion, only fall deeper into the pit of wretchedness or meanness:

> "Some, bowed and bent,
> Wax gray and ghastly, withering ere their time,
> And perish with the reed on which they leant;
> Some seek devotion, toil, war, good, or crime,
> According as their souls were formed to sink or climb."

Life, at the best, is an evil. Pain and suffering track the happiest. Only in the stern defiance or endurance of evil can the soul find any stability.

> "Count o'er the joys thine hours have seen,
> Count o'er thy days from anguish free,
> And know, whatever thou hast been,
> 'T is something better not to be."

It is almost needless to say, that Byron never reached the point of indifference to misery and hatred of the world, which he loved to contemplate. This was his ideal of greatness, and he never realized it. It had a charm for his swift passions and his daring fancy; but he was too weak and veering to practise it consistently in life. He was no hero, either in the service of Satan or the service of heaven. But he had a large inward experience of that condition of the heart, from which the devilish in conduct flows; and he has represented it with marvellous force and skill. In "Man-

fred," especially, he has arrayed the Satanic aspect of life in a gloomy majesty, which makes it act powerfully on the imagination. A kind of shuddering sympathy is awakened for the hero. The stormy emotions which convulse his being; the demoniacal pride with which his agonies are borne; the intensity and might of passion, which breathe and burn in almost every word he utters; the picturesque sublimity of the scenes in which the action of the piece passes; the occasional touches of quiet beauty and holy sentiment, which shoot across the ravings of remorse, or twinkle in the sombre imagery of despair; and the continuity of the feeling which overspreads and pervades the whole drama; — all these give to the work a singular fascination, from which it is difficult to escape. Manfred represents a man of superhuman pride and superhuman ambition, — bound by no moral laws, which yet have the power to scourge him, — hating the world and his kind, and seemingly fated to be a curse to himself, and to all who meet him either in love or hate. In his confession to the Witch of the Alps, we have a most distinct statement of that disgust for mankind, that yearning after superhuman knowledge, that wild search in the loneliest and most tempestuous aspects of nature for sympathy with inward emotions, with which the writings of Byron teem. He says,

> "From my youth upward,
> My spirit walked not with the souls of men,
> Nor looked upon the earth with human eyes;
> The thirst of their ambition was not mine;
> The aim of their existence was not mine;
> My joys, my griefs, my passions, and my powers,
> Made me a stranger; though I wore the form,
> I had no sympathy with breathing flesh."

In another connection, he represents himself as having had in his youth noble aspirations to sway the minds of men, and to be the enlightener of nations; but his thoughts "mistook themselves":

> "I could not tame my nature down; for he
> Must serve who fain would sway, — and sooth — and sue—
> And watch all time — and pry into all place —
> And be a living lie — who would become
> A mighty thing among the mean; and such
> The mass are. I disdained to mingle with
> A herd, though to be leader — and of wolves.
> The lion is alone, and so am I."

The crime which lends such mysterious horror to the re-

morse and despair of Manfred is one which the pen hesitates to write. It is but obscurely hinted in his wild utterances. But its remembrance is to him continual torment :

"Look on me in my sleep,
Or watch my watchings. Come and sit by me!
My solitude is solitude no more,
But peopled with the Furies. I have gnashed
My teeth in darkness till returning morn,
Then cursed myself till sunset; — I have prayed
For madness as a blessing — 't is denied me."

In the description of her whom he loved, and whom he destroyed, whose heart withered when it gazed on his, — a passion terrible in its consequences both to him and to her, — some traits of his own character and the Satanic character are thrown in by contrast :

" She was like me in lineaments — her eyes
Her hair, her features, all, to the very tone
Even of her voice, they said were like to mine;
But softened all, and tempered into beauty :
She had the same lone thoughts and wanderings,
The quest of hidden knowledge, and a mind
To comprehend the universe; nor these
Alone, but with them gentler powers than mine,
Pity, and smiles, and tears — *which I had not;*
And tenderness — but that I had for her;
Humility — *and that I never had.*
Her faults were mine — her virtues were her own."

We cannot refrain from making one more extract from this drama, in illustration of the inspiration of evil from which it takes its character, and the theory of sorrow and misery, as well as grandeur, which it inculcates.

" There is an order
Of mortals on the earth, who do become
Old in their youth, and die ere middle age,
Without the violence of warlike death.
Some perishing of pleasure — some of study —
Some worn with toil — some of mere weariness —
Some of disease — and some of insanity —
And some of withered or of broken hearts;
For this last is a malady which slays
More than are numbered in the lists of Fate, —
Taking all shapes and bearing many names."

There is something noble in the roll of these lines, which dignifies the pride and bitterness of soul from which they proceed.

The tremendous depth and intensity of passion, which Byron was capable of representing with such marvellous

skill of expression, is powerfully displayed in his misanthropical creations, and lends to them much of the sorcery they exercise on the feelings. When once we are fairly borne along the foaming and glittering tide of his impulsive genius, it becomes hard to muster any moral scruples as to the direction of the flood. Few poets excel him in the instantaneous sympathy he creates, even among minds having no natural affinity with his own. He is eminently the poet of passion. In almost all the changes of his mood, the same energy of feeling glows in his verse. The thought or emotion uppermost in his mind at any one time, whether it be bad or good, seems to sway, for the moment, all the faculties of his nature. He has a passionate love for evil, a passionate love for nature, for goodness, for beauty, and, we may add, a passionate love for himself. When he sits in the place of the scoffer, his words betray the same inspiration from impulse, — the same passion, though condensed into bitterness and mockery. If we carefully observe the thoughtful and tender portions of his writings, we shall often find that the tenderness is but

> "Moonlight on a troubled sea,
> Brightening the storm it cannot calm."

Restlessness is the characteristic of his nature. He himself speaks of his verse as bearing him onward as the wind bears the cloud; and his hatred of restraint and "proud precipitance of soul" are well expressed in his exulting gladness at being again on the boisterous element he loved :

> "Once more upon the waters! — yet, once more!
> And the waves bound beneath me as a steed
> That knows its rider. Welcome to their roar!
> Swift be their guidance, wheresoe'er it lead!
> Though the strained mast should quiver as a reed,
> And the strained canvass fluttering strew the gale,
> Yet must I on; for I am as a weed
> Hung from the rock, on ocean's foam, to sail
> Where'er the surge may sweep, the tempest's breath prevail."

The force of passion with which he could express his sense of individual wrong, and his power of carrying the heart with him in his sorrowful consecrations of his own miseries, are displayed with a wild and smiting energy of utterance in the following stanzas :

"And if my voice break forth, 't is not that now
I shrink from what is suffered: let him speak
Who hath beheld decline upon my brow,
Or seen my mind's convulsion leave it weak;
But in this page a record will I seek.
Not in the air shall these my words disperse,
Though I be ashes; a far hour shall wreak
The deep prophetic fulness of this verse,
And pile on human heads the mountain of my curse!

"That curse shall be Forgiveness. Have I not —
Hear me, my mother Earth! behold it Heaven! —
Have I not had to wrestle with my lot?
Have I not suffered things to be forgiven?
Have I not had my brain seared, my heart riven,
Hopes sapped, name blighted, Life's life lied away?
And only not to desperation driven,
Because not altogether of such clay
As rots into the souls of those whom I survey?

"From mighty wrongs to petty perfidy,
Have I not seen what human things could do?
From the loud roar of foaming calumny
To the small whisper of the as paltry few,
And subtler venom of the reptile crew,
The Janus glance of whose significant eye,
Learning to lie with silence, would *seem* true,
And without utterance, save the shrug or sigh,
Deal round to happy fools its speechless obloquy.

"But I have lived, and have not lived in vain:
My mind may lose its force, my blood its fire,
And my frame perish even in conquering pain;
But there is that within me which shall tire
Torture and Time, and breathe when I expire;
Something unearthly, which they deem not of,
Like the remembered tone of a mute lyre,
Shall on their softened spirits sink, and move
In hearts all rocky now the late remorse of love."

This passionateness of Byron's nature is, as we have already observed, manifested in all his writings. But it is sometimes softened into delicacy and tenderness, and becomes remarkably pure and sweet in its flow. The passages of thoughtful beauty, which are scattered over his stormy and impulsive poems, — following, as they so often do, fierce bursts of passion, and the bad idolatry of hatred and despair, — are as pleasing to the eye as starlight after lightning. It is hardly necessary to enlarge on the fineness of his feeling for the beautiful, and the fertility of his imagination in images shaping it to the eye, and in tones suggesting it to the ear.

A large number of his imaginations have become the language of the emotions they consecrate, and many are fast passing into the common speech of Englishmen. In the third and fourth cantos of "Childe Harold," in "Don Juan," in the narratives and meditations which he has cast in a dramatic form, passages might be selected of most witching loveliness, of deep pathos, of sad and mournful beauty of sentiment, of aspiration after truth and goodness, — of pity, and charity, and faith, and humanity, and love. These display "how hard it is for a noble spirit to divorce itself wholly from what is good." From among many illustrations of this softness and beauty of feeling, we select the following sonnet :

"Thy cheek is pale with thought, but not from woe ;
And yet so lovely, that, if Mirth could flush
Its rose of whiteness with the brightest blush,
My heart would wish away that ruder glow :
And dazzle not thy deep-blue eyes — but, O,
While gazing on them, sterner eyes will gush,
And into mine my mother's weakness rush,
Soft as the last drops round heaven's airy bow.
For, through thy long dark lashes low depending,
The soul of melancholy Gentleness
Gleams like a seraph from the sky descending,
Above all pain, yet pitying all distress;
At once such majesty with sweetness blending,
I worship more, but cannot love thee less."

It is very difficult to connect the scattered characteristics of Byron's genius, so as to give a distinct notion of his personal character. Most certainly he was not a great man in action. He had no calm, self-sustaining energy of nature, few consistent opinions, little breadth of understanding. Irresolution, weakness, a reckless indifference to the consequences of his actions, a kind of settled feeling that he must yield to every impulse of his sensibility, a remarkable absence of any thing like a reference of his conduct to moral laws, — these absolutely stare us in the face, as we read his letters and journals. As regards reason, his whole strength lay in his insight; and his momentary glimpses of truth were sometimes peculiarly vivid and clear. In his speculations, or rather declarations, on subjects disconnected with poetry, we often discern many bright hints of truth; but he had not sufficient patience or comprehensiveness to follow them to their results, or to bind them together in logical order. As re-

gards strength of character, his force consisted in passion, not in principle. No vicious man ever lashed vice in others with more power. Not an inconsiderable portion of his writings, both in prose and verse, represents him as the critic of his contemporaries, and the censor and satirist of his age. When we read some of his fierce attacks on George the Fourth,

> "The fourth of the fools and cowards, called George,"

and the bitterness of invective with which he treated the sins of other prominent culprits, we are ready to exclaim, with Sir Thomas Browne, "While thou so hotly disclaimest against the Devil, be not guilty of diabolism." Again, no man volunteered his opinions with more freedom on literature, theology, politics, and society; but it is difficult to make any discrimination between his opinions and his antipathies, or to discover any law of change which regulated the passage of his antipathies into his loves. His taste was capricious in the extreme. His opinion of any person, or any institution, or any aspiration, varied with the physical variations of his body, and was often very different after a debauch from what it was after a ride. No one could infer his judgment of to-morrow from his judgment of to-day. The friend that appeared in the eulogy of one week was likely to point the squib of the next. His consistency in criticism was according to his constancy in hatred. Wordsworth and Southey he always disliked and always abused. As a critic, he has propounded some of the most untenable opinions ever uttered by a man of genius. He often mistook his whims and antipathies for laws of taste. When Keats's poems appeared, he entreats Murray to get some one to crush the little mannikin to pieces. After the article in the Quarterly was published, and the death of Keats was supposed to have been accelerated by its brutality, he abuses Murray for killing him, and discovers that there was much merit in the "mannikin's" poetry. It would be easy to multiply examples of this instability and levity of character; but for any reader of his letters and journals, such instances would be needless.

The personal and poetical popularity of Byron is still great. The circulation of his works, even at the present time, exceeds that of Wordsworth, Shelley, Southey, and

Coleridge united. Scott is the only poet, among his contemporaries, who at all rivals him in the number of readers. Many of his gloomy creations will long frown defiance upon time. It is certainly a calamity to the world, that a poet possessing such wide influence over the heart should too often have exercised it in cultivating and honoring its base and moody passions; should have robed sin in beauty, and conferred dignity on vice; should have given new allurements to that Dead-sea fruit,

> "Which tempts the eye,
> But turns to ashes on the lip";

should have shown such brilliant audacity in assaults on the dearest interests of society; and, by the force of his example and the splendor of his mind, should be able to perpetuate his errors and his vices through many generations to come. It is of importance, not only to morals, but to taste, that there should be no delusion as to the nature of these perversions of his genius; that his wit should not shield his ribaldry from condemnation, nor his imagination be received in extenuation of his blasphemy. In speaking of Byron, as in speaking of men of meaner minds, things should be called by their right names. The method too apt to be pursued towards him is to gloss over his faults with some smooth sentimentalities about his temptations; or to speak of them with a singular relaxation of the rigidity of moral laws. But it seems to us impossible to defend his character, even as we defend the character of many men of genius whose lives labor under some bad imputations. As soon as sophistry has dexterously disposed of one charge, a thousand others crowd up to be answered. He has written his own condemnation. The faults of his life blaze out in his verse, and glitter on almost every page of his correspondence. And the most that charity itself can do is to repeat the mournful regret of the good abbot over the sins of Manfred:

> "This should have been a noble creature: he
> Hath all the energy which would have made
> A goodly frame of glorious elements,
> Had they been wisely mingled; as it is,
> It is an awful chaos — light and darkness —
> And mind and dust — and passions and pure thoughts,
> Mixed, and contending without end or order,
> All dormant or destructive."

ART. IV. — *Proclamations of His Excellency Sir Charles Theophilus Metcalfe, Baronet, K. C. B., for dissolving the Provincial Parliament of Canada, and for the Election of a House of Assembly for that Colony.* Canada Gazette Extraordinary, Sept. 23, 1844.

ALTHOUGH we seldom turn our attention to the affairs of our Colonial neighbours, we still regard an occasional allusion to them as within the line of our duty. The United States, being the ruling power in this hemisphere, cannot but feel a deep interest in the political condition of all who inhabit the same continent, especially of those who are still in allegiance to the crown to which we once acknowledged fealty. Beside the tie of common British origin, there exists between many of the people of the Colonies north and east of us, and many of our own citizens, the bond of kindred blood. The causes of this affinity were briefly noticed at the close of an article on the Loyalists of our Revolution, in our last number. In considering now the political discontents of the inhabitants of British America, we shall have some occasion to refer to this class of our countrymen again; since they and their descendants are intimately concerned in these discontents, and in the public affairs of the British possessions in America, generally. Leaving them, however, and the French and English races who people these possessions, for the present, we propose first to consider somewhat in detail the disputes to which they and their rulers in the Old World are parties, and which have long disturbed the relations between England and her Colonies. Our remarks will be confined to Canada, Nova Scotia, and New Brunswick; and as these disputes commenced in the Colony first named, and still are far the most serious there in character, they claim our first notice.

It may be said at the outset, that Great Britain has hardly had a moment's quiet with this possession since the day when Wolfe rose from a sick-bed to "die happy" in planting her flag on the walls of Quebec. To ascertain the reasons for the existing state of things, therefore, it may be necessary to trace the course of events ever since the treaty of Paris, in 1763, by which England annexed this province to her American dominions. After the conquest, and before the

cession, there arose an exciting controversy among some of the leading statesmen of the time, whether it should be retained or restored to France, and the island of Guadaloupe be added to the British dominions in its stead. There seems to have been a prevalent fear, that, if Canada were kept, the Colonies, rid of all apprehensions from the French, would increase at an alarming rate, and finally throw off their dependence on the mother country. A tract was published in support of this view, supposed to have been written either by Edmund or William Burke, to which Dr. Franklin replied in his happiest and ablest manner.* Nor did the dispute end here; for the charge was openly made, that the treaty of peace which restored to France Bellisle, Goree, Guadaloupe, St. Lucia, Martinique, and Havana, which guarantied to her people the use of the Newfoundland fisheries, and which retained an acquisition of so doubtful value as Canada, was the result of corrupt bargaining; and Junius, in his celebrated letter to the Duke of Bedford, who negotiated the treaty, openly accuses him of having received bribes.

The Colony was now placed under a military government, though the king, by proclamation, announced his intention of granting, as soon as circumstances would permit, a legislative assembly. That this promise was not redeemed for twenty-eight years was at once an error of policy, and a breach of the royal faith. For four years, officers of the army were both governors and judges; and for a considerable period afterwards, orders in council were the only checks on their will, and the only protection thrown around the Canadian's rights. In 1774, it was deemed expedient by the ministry to pay some attention to the abuses that had grown up, and to introduce into parliament a bill designed ostensibly to correct them. This bill provided for the restoration of the *Customs of Paris* in regard to the transmission of property, for the introduction of the English criminal law and the trial by jury, and it lodged the legislative and executive power in a governor and council; but as it contained no provision for an assembly, it gave great dissatisfaction to the British emigrants who had settled in Can-

* Mr. Sparks says, that this reply "was believed to have had great weight in the ministerial councils, and to have been mainly instrumental in causing Canada to be held at the peace."

ada in the hope of enjoying the same privileges as the subjects of the mother country.

As the passage of this bill is one of the twenty-six grievances enumerated by our fathers in the Declaration of Independence, it may be worth further notice. In the Lords, the measure seems to have encountered no very formidable opposition ; but in the Commons, it produced a most angry debate. Several witnesses were examined at the bar, among whom were the governor, the chief justice, and the former attorney-general of Canada, the advocate-general, and a Canadian gentleman. In the testimony and opinions of these dignitaries there was little harmony. The governor declared, that the Canadians disapproved of the trial by jury, because they thought it " very extraordinary, that English gentlemen should believe their property safer, in the hands of tailors, shoemakers, and people in trade, than in those of the judges" ; he said, they disapproved of the introduction of English civil law, because " they do not know what it is"; and that they desired no assembly, on account of the disputes which they saw prevailing between the crown and the representative bodies of the other Colonies. On this latter point, the chief justice was of the same opinion ; for, as he pithily said, their only idea of an assembly was " that of a house of riot and confusion, which meets only to impede public business, and to distress the crown." Very different were the sentiments of the French noble, who believed that his conquered countrymen were very desirous of having an assembly, but had refrained from making their wishes known, because they understood that they would be compelled to bear the expense which its introduction would cause ; and such a burden they were unable to endure. With regard to their preference for the English or French code of law, he was of opinion, that the former would be unobjectionable, if the tenures of land were allowed to remain unaltered. Upon the point of descents, dower, and transfer of lands, the former Colonial attorney-general expressed the same views ; and he was convinced also, that, in other respects, the people would be satisfied with the abolition of the system which had been established by France.

The speeches which preceded and followed this examination were printed, and they show the warmth of the debate.

Opposed to the bill were Dunning, who declared upon his conscience, that he thought it "destructive of every principle of freedom, and abounding with mischief of a most serious tendency"; Barré, who said it was "the most flagrant attack on the constitution, that had hitherto been attempted"; and Townshend, who affirmed, that it "established a despotic government." "Little did I think," continued he, "that a country as large as half of Europe, and now within the dominions of the crown of Great Britain, was going to have the Romish religion established in it as the religion of the state. Little did I think, that so many thousand men, entitled by birth to the rights of Englishmen, settling on the faith of the king's proclamation, should, contrary to that assurance, contrary to every idea of the constitution, be subjected to French Papists and French laws, in a country where, for full twelve years, nothing has prevailed but anarchy and confusion."

In defence of the bill appeared Lord North, Attorney-General Thurlow, and Solicitor-General Wedderburn. They affirmed, that English laws, however much prized in England, "would be the greatest curse imaginable to the Canadians." But the minister, being sorely pressed, at last disavowed all knowledge of the paternity of the bill. "I know not," said he, "who drew it up"; all he did know about it was, "that it is a bill from the other House"; but, said he, "all circumstances considered, I think the bill is the best that can at present be devised." Should we *guess* what these "circumstances" were, we might say, that his Lordship knew he had already quite as many Colonial assemblies to deal with as was for his comfort, or as he could well manage; and that he wished for no more to quarrel with "at present."

In America, the "Quebec Act" caused the most profound sensation. On turning to the doings of the Congress of the thirteen Colonies, we find that a committee was directed to prepare an address "to the inhabitants of the province of Quebec"; and the form which they reported, having been debated by paragraphs, was adopted, and ordered to be translated, printed, and distributed. This address embodied many of the objections which had been urged in parliament, and concluded with an eloquent appeal to the Canadians to unite with their American brethren, and thus to gain the influence of the whole people of the conti-

nent in their behalf. In a petition to the king, which immediately followed, this act is enumerated among the injuries of which they complain. Of those who assented to both of these papers were Deane of Connecticut, whose political prospects closed in sorrow and dishonor, and Galloway of Pennsylvania, who abandoned the Whigs and became a most virulent and influential Loyalist. Congress followed up its protest of 1774, and, in the memorable document which declared the British empire dismembered, gave utterence to its indignation at the treatment of the Canadians in no measured words.

The form of government established by this obnoxious Quebec Act continued until the year 1791, when Mr. Pitt devised and carried through parliament, in opposition to Fox and the other British Whigs, a plan which, with some modifications, is in operation at the present time, not only in Canada, but throughout British America. The scheme provided for a House of Assembly, elected by freeholders and leaseholders, for four years ; a Legislative Council, appointed by the king, for life ; and an Executive or Privy Council, the members of which, as well as the lieutenant-governor, were to be appointed by the crown ; — thus imitating the three estates of the British constitution. Full power was given to raise, control, and expend all taxes and duties, and to pass such laws as might be deemed expedient, and not contrary to the acts of parliament ; subject, however, to the royal *veto*. Under this system, the practice has grown up of allowing the judges who were actually performing judicial duties to hold seats also in both the legislative and executive councils. Another object of Mr. Pitt was to divide the province into two parts, giving them the names of Upper and Lower Canada, which they retained until the late reunion. Of the wisdom of this division, and of the reasons assigned for it, we shall speak in another place.

It will be seen at a glance, that, by this system, the power of the crown controls the popular will as expressed in the House of Assembly, and can defeat any measure in two ways ; first, by the negative of the Legislative Council, and secondly, by the royal dissent directly expressed. Still, tolerable harmony appears to have prevailed between the different branches of government for a number of years. The first dispute which our limited space will allow us to

mention occurred before the war of 1812, when the Assembly demanded that the judges should be required to vacate their seats as legislators, and to confine their attention to their judicial duties. This demand, and the offer to defray the expenses of the civil administration from means to be provided by the Colony, met with no favor, but, after a sharp contest of some duration, the governor dissolved the body which had brought up the dispute. This was the germ of the difficulties which now prevail, though the removal of Sir James Craig from the administration of affairs, the appointment of the more popular Sir George Prevost, and the rupture with the United States, hushed for a while the clamors of the discontented. At the peace, however, when Prevost relinquished the executive chair to Sir George Gordon Drummond, a second quarrel arose between the judges and a new Assembly, and two of the occupants of the bench were impeached. Drummond was succeeded, in 1816, by Sir John C. Sherbroke, under whose rule there was a period of quiet. On his retirement, his successor, the Duke of Richmond, by abandoning the practice of submitting to the Assembly an estimate in detail of the sums required to be voted for each branch of the public service, and adopting instead the plan of naming *aggregates* only, added another element of discord to those previously existing. The refusal of the Assembly to appropriate money in this way and "by chapters," and the passing of the supply bill in the usual form, produced an angry and protracted controversy. The Legislative Council, in this affair, as in the matter of the judges, took sides with the representative of the crown, and withheld their assent to the bill; whereupon the governor obtained the money he had applied for by drawing upon the receiver-general. After the death of the Duke of Richmond, the Earl of Dalhousie was transferred from Nova Scotia to Canada, where he renewed the dispute as to appropriations, by determining the sum that would probably be wanted, and soliciting a grant of it for a term of years to come. The popular body refused to comply, and passed the bill of supplies in the usual form, specifying the precise objects to which the money voted should be applied. The Legislative Council again interposed their negative, and the Earl, like his predecessor, had recourse to the receiver-general; but going a step further, he drew for a sum larger than

he had mentioned in his estimate. This occurred in 1820, in which year we may p'ace the origin of well marked party organizations for and aga nst the colonial administration.

We next find the Assembly contesting with Dalhousie the right of servants of the crown to designate in any manner the purposes to which the revenue should be applied, and bitterly complaining of its alleged unlawful and inexpedient expenditure. As Sir John Caldwell, the officer who had paid the drafts of the two governors in the cases mentioned, had become insolvent and could not restore a large sum of the public money, the Liberals gained a considerable accession to their party. In 1825, Dalhousie was absent from the Colony, and Sir Francis Burton, who was called *ad interim* to administer its affairs, made such large concessions to the popular demands, as to induce the Assembly to claim the disposal of *all* revenues, from whatever sources derived, and to determine that the executive branch should have no future control over them. The dispute hitherto had related to such portions of the public funds as were raised by taxation, and to the manner of expending what Mr. Huskisson called the "permanent" revenue, obtained by duties levied in place of those imposed under the French rule, and uniformly applied to the payment of the judiciary and the expenses of the civil list. It had not embraced another part, called the "casual" revenue, accruing from fines, penalties, and forfeitures, and from the sales of land and timber. Consequently, this bold push for the whole fiscal power excited an interest in Canadian politics never before manifested, and attracted the serious attention of the ministry. Down to this period, so far as we understand this vexed and intricate question, the crown had never sought to control the disbursement of Colonial taxes, nor to divert the "permanent" revenue from the objects for which it was first set apart; but it did claim entire control over the "casual" receipts, as "lord paramount." In respect to the permanent income, the crown, indeed, so far from desiring to divert it from its proper uses, seems to have wished to retain the right of designating the heads of its expenditure, mainly, if not entirely, in order to insure its being appropriated to these uses; and to have resisted the claims of the Assembly, from the apprehension, that the salaries of the judges, and of the other officers de-

pendent upon it, would neither be adequate nor permanent, if these claims were granted.

Passing over intermediate events, we come to the transactions of the year 1827, when the offer was made by the home government to surrender to the Colonists the required management of the disputed revenue, on provision being made for a stipulated civil list. That this long contested matter would have been adjusted at this juncture and on these terms appears quite probable, but for the act of Lord Dalhousie in disapproving of the election of Mr. Papineau to the speaker's chair of the Assembly. The popularity of this gentleman was unbounded, and the Liberals, enraged beyond what such a circumstance warranted, gave vent to their feelings in the most exciting appeals to the multitude. Lord Dalhousie's administration closed without the usual session of the two legislative bodies, and amid the denunciations of many to whom his general conduct had been very obnoxious.

His successor, Sir James Kempt, who assumed the direction of Canadian affairs in 1828, desirous of hushing the storm, invited Papineau, as well as Neilson, another leader of the Liberals, to take seats in his Executive Council, and, pursuant to his instructions, gave assurances that the graver points of difference should be satisfactorily disposed of on the meeting of parliament. This promise was not fulfilled during Sir James's stay, in consequence of the decease of the king, George the Fourth ; but Lord Aylmer, on taking his place, renewed the pledge, and, as the Liberals suppose or affirm, without conditions. But when he came to make known precisely the concessions of the ministry, and to require the settlement of a plan for the payment of the civil officers before the revenue in dispute was released, and to state, moreover, that the crown still proposed to retain the "casual" branch of the Colonial receipts, the quarrel, which had apparently come to a termination, was opened anew ; and the Assembly, so far from evincing a disposition to concede any thing for the sake of restoring harmony, emphatically declared, that "under no circumstances, and upon no consideration whatever, would they abandon or compromise their claim to control the *whole* public revenue." Not long after, in 1831, the home government gave way. A bill which conceded the great points at issue passed both houses

of parliament, and received the royal assent; but as Lord Aylmer was again instructed to ask for permanent provision for the judges and some other officers, new difficulties arose between the Assembly and the ministry, which our limits compel us to pass over without attention, except to say, that in the end the breach became as wide as ever.

Encouraged, it may be, by the advantages they had gained in this long and wearisome dispute about the finances, the Liberals now commenced an attack upon the Legislative Council. This body, composed principally of gentlemen who held other public stations, had become extremely obnoxious. To exclude from it all the judges, the chief justice excepted, had been one great object of the Liberals during the conflict which we have just noticed. The Assembly now boldly demanded the abolition of that branch as constituted under Mr. Pitt's act of 1791, and its election by the freeholders and leaseholders of a given description. In other words, they required, that this branch of the government should become as independent of the crown and of official influence as the Assembly itself. To this demand the ministry gave a flat refusal; and well they might, since it struck at the very foundation of the Colonial system. So far, indeed, from conceding any thing, it was intimated, in reply, that parliament might be compelled to exercise its "supreme authority," and to terminate all further dissensions by taking away some of the privileges already enjoyed. The Assembly now seemed to lose temper altogether. A long list of new grievances was prepared, many of the old ones were declared to be unredressed, the bill of supplies was rejected, the conduct of Lord Aylmer was severely reprobated and his recall demanded, and the claim for an elective Legislative Council renewed, in the most determined tone. Affairs had now come to a crisis. In nine sessions of the colonial parliament, the Legislative Council had rejected altogether one hundred and twenty-two bills passed by the Assembly, and had so amended forty-seven more, that the popular body would not accept them. The reconstruction of that branch on an elective basis had now become a fixed purpose on one side, while, on the other, the home government as resolutely determined, that the Council should stand as it was, not only in Lower Canada, but throughout British America. The Assembly, in the course of the difficulties which had

arisen with regard to the sale and settlement of the public lands, had gradually advanced their pretensions, so that they now claimed the entire control over this property ; and the disputes as to the payment of the judges' stipends and their holding seats in the Council had given rise to the demand, that the judiciary should be made responsible to the colonial legislature, and not to the crown.

Such was the condition of things, when a change of administration took place, and Sir Robert Peel was made prime minister in place of Lord Melbourne. He determined to redress every *actual* wrong, and to appoint a commissioner to proceed to Canada, there to examine and decide upon the complaints which had been so pertinaciously urged upon the former ministry. As to the questions which we have already considered, the new minister expressed his willingness to surrender the "casual" revenue, on condition that the Assembly would provide a civil list for seven years ; but he declined to yield to that body the required management of the crown lands, or to reconstruct the Legislative Council. Before Sir Robert's plans were executed, another change occurred, which brought Lord Melbourne again into power ; but the scheme of a commission was carried out. Three distinguished gentlemen, charged with the important duty of restoring the alienated affections of the Canadians, and with the still more difficult task of quieting their leaders, were despatched under instructions to inquire into all causes of complaint, but not to adjust them. Lord Gosford, who was at the head of this commission, had the additional appointment of governor, as successor to Lord Aylmer. Though the overture for the settlement of the controversy about the revenue was renewed very nearly on the plan of Sir Robert Peel, and though the Assembly were to be allowed to expend the proceeds of the public lands, instead of admitting their pretensions to dispose of the lands themselves, still, as the most prominent matter was the reconstruction of the Legislative Council, and nothing was proposed to the Liberals in this particular, the attempt at reconciliation was a complete failure. Lord Gosford personally became very odious to men of all parties ; first, to the Conservatives, by his extreme intimacy with the Liberals, and afterwards to the latter party, on account of alleged deception in giving them hope that concessions would be made respecting the constitution

of the Council. The Assembly, in fact, refused to grant the necessary supplies for the support of the government, and showed, by other movements, that they were looking to less peaceable means of accomplishing their desires. The year 1836 was a memorable period in Canadian politics; and having now traced in outline the affairs of the Lower Colony down to the time when the interposition of parliament was deemed necessary by both the great parties in England, we pass to a moment's consideration of the disturbances in Upper Canada.

The *expression* of discontent in this Colony is of very recent origin. Many causes of complaint had been supposed to exist for a considerable time, and persons had not been wanting to oppose the administration of affairs. Alleged abuses in the grants of land were among the earliest sources of irritation. The home government gave, however, satisfactory assurances of correcting whatever was amiss, and the subject ceased to be agitated by those who sought redress, and nothing more. Nor was it until 1834, when a new Assembly was chosen, that the Liberals found themselves able to commence an organized opposition to the servants of the crown. Having, by this election, secured a majority in the popular branch, they assumed, as it were in a moment, the extreme pretensions which had been slowly brought forward in the sister Colony for some fifteen years. There was no department of the public service which they did not charge with insufferable corruption, no rule of public policy which they did not declare injurious, or open to condemnation. Nor was this all; since a wish to secede from the mother country was hardly denied, or concealed under a decent veil. To pass from a state of tolerable unanimity and satisfaction to loud murmurs and open rebellion was scarcely the work of a year. In the hope of allaying the excitement, the ministry resolved upon a change of the governor, and Sir Francis Bond Head accordingly succeeded Sir John Colbourne, in 1836. Sir Francis, whatever may have been his reputation as a writer, or his merits as a soldier, was no politician. With the ministry then in power he had had no connection, and had never so much as seen the Colonial secretary. He had not even connected himself with any political party, or voted at an election. Great was his own surprise at receiving the appointment; nor was his wonder lessened,

when, transferred to the scene of commotion, he saw large handbills displayed, which announced the arrival of "Sir Francis Head, *a tried Reformer.*" Difficulties soon beset him on every side. Among the subjects agitated before his arrival had been that of an elective Legislative Council, and when he made known the fact, that his instructions allowed of no concessions in this particular, he caused a rupture between Lord Gosford and the Liberals of Lower Canada; and having resisted the claims of his own Executive Council to act upon their recommendation and advice in the measures of his administration, he excited the indignation of that party against himself, and gave them occasion for recommencing the opposition which they had maintained against his predecessor. After his executive councillors had retired, the refusal of the Assembly to vote the usual money bills, and the drawing up of addresses to the House of Commons and the throne, followed, in imitation of the other Colony, almost as a matter of course. But Sir Francis, unlike Lord Gosford in Lower Canada, had preserved the confidence of the Conservatives, and addresses signed by upwards of twenty-eight thousand persons were transmitted to him. As a means of testing the real feelings of the Colonists, he determined to call a new Assembly. The election resulted favorably for his hopes, and the Liberals, besides losing some of their most influential members and best speakers, found themselves in a minority. Enraged beyond measure at the loss of their control of the popular branch, and unable thereby to carry out their plans of coöperation with their brethren elsewhere, in maturing further projects of legislative opposition, they fulminated charges of the grossest fraud and iniquity against their opponents, and directly accused Sir Francis himself of participation in the corrupt practices that had destroyed the effect of their appeals to the people. Indications that the royal authority would soon be disputed in the field became frequent and alarming, and attracted serious attention everywhere. The ministry, painful as was the necessity, felt compelled to increase the military force in the Canadas, and to look to parliament — irrespectively of party, were the thing possible — for its calm judgment and united wisdom. The desired aid was afforded by the Conservatives, and the measures proposed by their opponents in power were sustained; but the death of King William occurred before these meas-

ures could be carried into effect, and they were postponed, rather than involve the illustrious lady who now occupies the throne in a conflict with her subjects at the commencement of her reign.

But information reached the Canadas in due time, that measures of coercion had been postponed on account of the demise of the crown, and not from any unwillingness on the part of government to employ them. Then the popular ferment could no longer be restrained. The events which occurred at the close of 1837, and during a part of 1838, are too fresh in the recollection of our readers to require consideration here. The attempt to seize upon Toronto, the capital of the Upper Colony, the affairs at St. Denis, St. Charles, Bois Blanc, Pointe au Pelée, and other places of hostile meeting, showed how very slight was the hold of the Liberals upon the mass of the people ; upon what slender resources they had ventured into an open warfare with a mighty power ; and how miserably deficient they were, not only in military talent, but in confidence in each other. The horrors of St. Eustache afforded melancholy proof, — of what, indeed, human history is full of, — that, when brother fights brother, no barbarities seem too great to be practised ; since females were outraged, the insurgents were needlessly slain, the unresisting were pillaged and murdered, and the bodies of the dead were suffered to lie unburied and exposed to every insult. Nor did the attempt to set up a provisional government at Navy Island, and to retrieve their fortunes by accessions from the United States, aided as they were by the universal and entirely justifiable indignation of the American people for the destruction of the Caroline, show that the reliance of the Liberals upon foreign aid had any other basis than idle hopes and conjectures.

Of the fallen we would always speak in pity, — of the guilty, in mercy; but we cannot excuse men of talents and education, of political experience and knowledge of the world, who send others of far humbler pretensions, in their place, to the scaffold. Leaders who place halters round the necks of the led are bound to show the justice of their cause, and reasonable expectations of success. The Liberals, as it seems to us, had neither. We enjoy some opportunities for observing the operation and tendencies of the Colonial system, and yield to none in hearty detestation of it. A

system less calculated to perfect the human character, to develope the resources of a country, to facilitate internal intercourse, to educate children, to insure responsibility in persons clothed with authority, as we conceive, can hardly be devised. But the blows dealt to it at Lexington and Yorktown made it harmless for all purposes of oppression; and no case has occurred, as we believe, since the thirteen Colonies broke its bonds, to justify an attempt to overthrow it by violence and bloodshed. It exists in New Brunswick and Nova Scotia, as well as in the Canadas; and in the questions of revenue, the Legislative Council, and the expulsion of judges from a participation in political concerns, the people of these Colonies are as deeply interested as those who attempted a revolution, without the means, preparation, courage, or skill, necessary to insure victory on a single battle-ground. Why, then, has there been comparative quiet in the Colonies first named, and recourse to arms in the others? Nay, more, why did the great body of the Canadians themselves refuse to coöperate with those who proposed to set them free? The only answer to these questions places on the heads of a few persons a fearful responsibility.

The attempt of the Liberals to liken their situation, and the objects for which they contended, to those of the Whigs of our Revolution was absurd in the extreme. Their affectation of adopting the general sentiments of the Declaration of Independence, and the incorporation of large portions of it into their manifesto of wrongs, might excite a smile, but for the sad fate of many whom so stirring an array of grievances misled; while the erection of "liberty poles," the organization of a band called the "Sons of Liberty," and the resolves to stop the consumption of British manufactures, as well as the persecution of neutrals and confessed opponents, were but parts of the machinery contrived to operate upon the public mind and spread needless discontent, however closely copied from the doings of the Whigs of 1776.

By the celebrated Declaratory Act of 1778, the mother country renounced the right to tax her Colonies, so that the "revenue" question in Canada was merely one of expending, not of levying, taxes. The question respecting the "mandamus counsellors," in the leading northern Colony of the "old thirteen," arose because the elective right by charter had been infringed; but in the case before us, the struggle

was for a privilege never enjoyed; and the same is also true of the matter of "salaries." But prior to any of these, and overtopping them all in the dismembered Colonies, were subjects which did not enter into the Canadian disputes in any shape or form whatever. We allude to the efforts to confine Colonial enterprises upon the sea to dealing with possessions of the crown, to stint the growth of Colonial commerce and navigation, and to prevent the Colonists from manufacturing their own raw materials into articles of pressing necessity. Exactly the reverse, in these respects, had become the well settled policy, with regard to the present possessions of Great Britain in America, years before the period of which we are speaking. Between the persons who were prominent in the events of 1776, and those who rebelled in 1837, we institute no comparison; our readers must do that for themselves.

The insurrection suppressed, its plotters fallen under the hands of the executioner, confined within the walls of prisons, or fled to other lands, Lord Durham was solicited to undertake the almost hopeless task of reconciling the differences which had produced the revolt. He refused the application of the ministry, at first, it is said, and consented at last only upon the personal request of his sovereign. Refusing, too, we think, all pecuniary compensation, he undertook the mission. His outfit was on a scale of royal magnificence, and his powers as great as royalty ever confers upon a subject. He erred upon a single point, recrossed the ocean with a broken spirit, was pursued with a malignity unknown save in party strife, and was soon carried to the tomb of his fathers. Among British statesmen he had occupied the first rank. Like most men of noble nature, he was proud and sensitive, and could not brook dishonorable imputation, or hold official station, after those, who were bound at least to remember the motives which induced him to undertake a service in which all who preceded him had failed, refused to sustain him. The charge has been made, that he abandoned his post in indecorous and abrupt haste, and threw down his high trust in bad temper. Possibly it was so; still, we honor the feelings which prompted the act.

The offence for which Lord Durham was rebuked consisted in the decree of banishment against Papineau and some of his associates who had fled, and against Wolfred Neilson,

Bouchette, and others, without trial, but on confession of guilt, to the Bermudas, which were not within his jurisdiction, under penalty of death for return without official permission. For the disposal of those in custody three courses were open; to try them, to release them, or, as was done, to send them away. To have taken the first course would have been to insure their conviction and death; to have released them would have been undue leniency; and the middle course, which was adopted, was open to the objection of technical illegality. There was, indeed, a fourth way, that of commutation of punishment after the tribunals had decided upon their guilt. But his Lordship's great purpose was to heal animosities, to restore quiet to the public mind, and to enable the people to resume their accustomed employments; and who could have answered for the public tranquillity, during the period between the arraignment and the pardon of the guilty, under the irritated state of feeling which then existed among the discomfited and desperate revolutionists? Lord Durham's fault, therefore, was that of mercy.

When tidings of the disallowance of his ordinance reached him, Lord Durham was on the point of introducing several changes which promised well, both because they would have effected immense reforms when carried out, and because, when promulgated, the disaffected would have seen, that the long wished-for work of redress had actually been commenced on a bold and comprehensive plan. These measures were the granting of free municipal institutions; a scheme for general education; a simple and cheap system for the registry of titles of landed property; and a commutation of the feudal tenure of estates in Montreal. And these were but an earnest of other measures, which he designed should follow; among which were plans for works of internal improvement, for extending commercial enterprises, for insuring a competent administration of justice, and, generally, for eradicating the manifold abuses which had grown up by neglect, or had been fostered during a long period of civil commotion.

We pass to a rapid notice of subsequent events, and to the administrations of Lord Sydenham, Sir Charles Bagot, and Sir Charles Metcalfe, the present governor-general of British America. In 1840, the two Canadas were united; since which time the Upper Colony has been known as Can-

ada West, and the Lower as Canada East. Under this union, the Executive or Privy Council consists of eleven members, who compose the cabinet; the Legislative Council, or upper legislative branch, has thirty-two members; and the Assembly has eighty-four, or forty-two from each division of the Colony. The Assembly only is elective, the two Councils being appointed by the same authority as before. The construction of the Assembly is unsatisfactory, because a minority of the electors choose a majority of its members. It has been alleged, that, in the House dissolved by Sir Charles Metcalfe in the proclamation named at the head of this article, several persons obtained seats from very populous counties by the instrumentality of bodies of hired and armed men. Whatever may be the truth of this charge, it formed a subject of inquiry in the Assembly, at its first session; but a bill designed to facilitate the investigation, which passed that branch, was thrown out by the Legislative Council.

Omitting further mention of the proceedings of 1841, when parties merely marshalled their forces for assault and defence under the new state of things, we come to the session of 1842, at the opening of which an answer to the governor's speech was a topic of warm discussion for thirteen days. To the form of answer presented by his Excellency's friends the opposition introduced an amendment, declaring, that the popular sentiment required a change of advisers. The result was the reconstruction of the Executive Council, and a new distribution of executive favor and patronage. Among the gentlemen who now received offices were several who had been actively engaged in the insurrection. Of this description were Mr. Girouard, who was imprisoned for his offences at that period, and Mr. Lafontaine, for whose apprehension a high reward was offered. The latter, as well as Mr. Baldwin, another steady Liberal, was made a member of the cabinet. The Executive Council, as remodelled, comprised six of the former members, and five new ones.

A new era in the administration of Canadian affairs was thus commenced. The presence of such men as Lafontaine and Baldwin in the courts of law as attorney-generals of the crown, and in the Privy Council as advisers of the governor-general, evinced a great change of feeling on both sides. A "responsible government" had been the last demand of

Colonial importunity, and here it was actually organized, and expected to heal the political diseases of half a century.

As the term "responsible government" may need some explanation, we will endeavour to give an idea of what is meant by it, though it is so vague and shadowy that we may not succeed. It seems, then, to be a term invented to embody *all* Colonial desires in a single word. Its advocates claim, that the public functionaries who hold office under the crown shall be "responsible" to the people; in other words, that, whenever the popular sentiment shall demand certain appointments, or certain removals, they shall be made; and that this sentiment, as expressed by members of the Executive Council, or the elective branch of the government, shall determine the course of conduct on the part of the queen's immediate representatives. How this rule can be adopted in colonies, we do not well see; for the plan, if carried out, we conceive, would make the will of the people, or that of their delegates, the supreme ruling power, and the vote of an assembly of higher authority than the royal instructions. Colonies cannot be subject to a monarchy, and at the same time govern themselves; nor can colonial governors obey their sovereign, and, at the same time, satisfy all the desires of the colonists among whom they reside. Such a government, however, it is asserted, can exist, and it has been authorized by the English ministry. It is supported by its friends, therefore, both on grounds of practicability, and the positive assurances of the ministry. As regards the latter point, we can only say, that we have met with no state paper that promises the remodelling of Colonial affairs on this basis. The two celebrated despatches of Lord John Russell, which bear upon the question, are now before us, and we find in one a direct exposition of the views entertained in Downing Street on the scheme of "responsibility," and that the other relates to the tenure of office. Both were written in October, 1839, and are to be examined in connection. The first is addressed to governor-general Thompson, subsequently Lord Sydenham, and not only explicitly and pointedly discountenances a government of this sort, but forbids him to entertain "any proposition on the subject." The second, which was written to Sir John Harvey, lieutenant-governor of New Brunswick, gives the popular voice no power in determining what appointments

shall be made, or revoked. As we read it, its sole aim is, to advise incumbents that offices are no longer to be held for life ; that, whenever removals should be deemed expedient, changes would occur ; and that the governors of the Colonies, instead of being bound to retain the officials bequeathed by their predecessors, as had been the practice, might make selections for themselves, subject to the approval of the sovereign. Among the dignitaries to whom these rules are to be applicable, are the Colonial secretaries, the receiver, surveyor, attorney, and solicitor generals, and members of the Council, especially in the Colonies where the Legislative and Executive Councils are distinct bodies. In the discussions upon these often cited documents, which from time to time have fallen under our observation, nothing has amused us more than the grave and labored efforts of the opponents of "responsibility" to show, that a "responsible government" in the United States has proved an entire failure, and that the published speeches of Mr. Webster and of Mr. Calhoun confess it, and show it most conclusively. How the system — adopted, as we have said — has worked in the Colonies, we have next to consider.

The *coalition* ministry in Canada lasted but little more than a year. Near the close of 1843, every member of Sir Charles Metcalfe's Executive Council, Mr. Daly excepted, resigned his place. Mr. Lafontaine, a gentleman of confessed ability, was considered its head, and the French influence was paramount in it; and hence, we suppose, the cause of its dissolution. The French members of the Assembly, and the Liberals of British origin, acted in concert, and, as they formed a majority of that body, Mr. Lafontaine is alleged to have had entire control of it, and to have been, indeed, a dictator. The points at issue between the governor-general and his advisers, at the time of the rupture, are, perhaps, not certainly known. But it is apparent, we think, that they separated on differences growing out of the "responsibility" principle; that the royal prerogative in the person of Sir Charles, and the popular sentiment in the persons of his councillors, could not be made to work in harmony. It has been said, however, that some of the members were personally offensive to his Excellency, and that this circumstance had an influence in terminating their official relations.

We must here leave the political concerns of Canada, and consider those of Nova Scotia; remarking, as we quit the topic, that the difficulties subsequent to the event last mentioned, show, that, whatever the course of Sir Charles may be for the future, and whatever his hopes from the election, just now terminated, of members of the Assembly, his administration, wise though it be, is almost sure to close in turmoil as great as that which has marked the retirement of nearly every one of his predecessors.

The dissensions in Nova Scotia will occupy but little of our time. Until 1836, it is believed, there was no formal or strenuous opposition to the measures of the representative of the crown, nor any urgent demands for changes of existing and long established institutions. Without a detailed narrative of events which have since occurred, we propose to notice only two or three occurrences of a late date. Between Sir Colin Campbell and the House of Assembly there was a war of some three years' duration, in which the latter manifested great spirit, and arraigned the vicious system under which the government was conducted, in terms which at times were highly disloyal, and even revolutionary. The governor, his advisers, and the chief functionaries of the Colony, unable to stem the current of popular feeling against them, and reluctant to yield to it, maintained their side of the controversy with equal ardor, though in much better temper, until the ministry closed it by transferring Sir Colin to the executive chair of another colony. Lord Falkland, the present lieutenant-governor, succeeded him. Among the early efforts of his Lordship to unite parties, and put an end to the heats and animosities which they had occasioned, was the trial of a coalition ministry. Of the Liberals, who were invited to take seats in his Executive Council, were Mr. Howe, the leader of that party, and Mr. Young, the present speaker of the Assembly. The former gentleman is of the family of a Boston royalist, was bred a printer, for some time conducted a newspaper of great influence, and is an able political writer. He had been offered a place under the administration against which he had led the opposition. His acceptance of office now produced the alienation of some of his friends, and bitter attacks from his foes. When, subsequently, the post of collector of excise and impost became vacant by the death of the person who had held it for

half a century, and the emoluments of this collectorship were added to his honors as a cabinet minister, disapprobation was loudly expressed in all quarters. While at the head of opposition, Mr. Howe conducted matters pretty much as he saw fit. In his new position, neither he nor his associates of the same party, though dispensing patronage to friends and opponents, possessed the confidence of either. The government as thus constituted failed to secure a majority of the Assembly, and to effect the passage of its measures. Thus situated, Lord Falkland dissolved that branch, and ordered the election of a new House. Soon after, and within a few days of the withdrawal of the advisers of Sir Charles Metcalfe, Messrs. Howe, McNab, and Uniacke, who held the additional place of solicitor-general, resigned their seats in the Council.

That here, among a people so different from the Canadian population, considered as a whole, the experiment to carry on a "responsible government" failed, may be sufficient proof, that such a system is unsuited to colonists, and cannot succeed among them. The difficulties of uniting and keeping in harmonious action the royal prerogative and the popular will are more apparent than in the case of Canada, because the reasons of secession are better known. In the correspondence between Lord Falkland and the seceders, his Lordship states distinctly, that, from the time of his arrival in the Colony down to the disruption, every appointment to the Executive Council, and all but one to the Legislative Council, as well as the larger portion of the other offices in his gift, had been made under the influence of the party to which these persons were attached, and of which they claimed to be delegates. Though his intention to make Mr. Almon their associate at the Council board was the cause of their resignation, this nomination was the first of which they had expressed disapprobation. The coalition was dissolved, then, upon a question of patronage ; the issue having been, whether official distinction should be conferred by certain members of the Council, who were responsible to the Assembly, and through that body to the people, or by Lord Falkland, the representative of the sovereign authority of the realm.

Between the statements of Sir Charles Metcalfe and Mr. Lafontaine there are marked discrepancies, and we have

hesitated to say, therefore, on what exact rock "responsible government" made shipwreck in Canada; but in Nova Scotia there is no room to doubt, because the parties concur. Assuming that the retiring councillors in both Colonies acted on the same principles and maintained the same pretensions, we perceive that they in fact struck at the very foundation of the system under which they live. The *royal prerogative* was not attacked in the thirteen Colonies till a late period in the dispute, and the fountain of patronage was left to flow freely until *subjects* resolved to become *citizens.*

Lord Falkland, in his opening speech to the legislature, in February, 1844, adverted to the policy which he had pursued, and the customary address was moved in answer to it; whereupon a most angry debate followed for fourteen days, in which Mr. Howe and his friends went over the grounds of difficulty, and attempted to justify their conduct. The amendment they proposed was rejected, every member being present, and the House of Assembly in a body waited on the governor to present the answer in its original form. The Hibernia steamer arrived at the capital while this debate was pending, and brought Lord Falkland a despatch approving of his course in the trial to which he had been subjected, and confirming the nomination of Mr. Almon. It is understood, that a negotiation was opened for the return of Mr. Howe and his colleagues to the Council, but that no satisfactory terms could be arranged, and it was broken off. However this may be, these gentlemen continued in active opposition, and the session closed with the Liberal party reorganized under them, and the presses under their influence in full operation against the administration which they had abandoned. The present Assembly is regarded as unusually able, and among its members has several adroit and practised speakers, both Conservative and Liberal. What measures of attack have been matured by the latter during the recess, our readers are likely soon to know through the ordinary channels of intelligence. When certainty is so soon to follow speculation, conjecture were idle; still, we cannot but believe, that agitation in Nova Scotia is to be continued and increased. One thing we may venture to say is nearly certain, that storm or calm depends much on the leading Liberal whose name we have so often mentioned.

The politics of New Brunswick have attracted but little attention. Sir Howard Douglas, appointed lieutenant-governor in 1824, had a long and tolerably quiet and popular administration. His successor, Sir Archibald Campbell, was compelled to encounter opposition of a formidable character, and to meet many of the questions which we considered when speaking of the Canadas. Here, however, it should be remarked, excitement has never been intense among the mass of the people, and during the periods of active warfare between opposing politicians, they have remained almost passive spectators, participating seldom in the heat of party strifes, except on the dissolution of assemblies, and during the elections which have followed. Although, then, the disposal of the "casual" revenue, and the responsibility of the Executive or Privy Council, have been subjects of discussion, and at times of fierce dispute between the Assembly and the officers of the crown, general and abiding divisions have not existed as elsewhere. On the matter of the "casual" revenue, Sir Archibald and the elective branch of the legislature came to an open rupture. Having been instructed to surrender this portion of the public receipts, he deferred compliance, and advised the ministry of his reasons. The Assembly, being displeased and impatient, addressed the throne, and a committee of that body waited on the governor, and apprized him of the fact. His reply was too pithy and dignified to be omitted.

"Gentlemen," said he, "the conscientious rectitude of my own conduct has made the subject of this address to me a matter of the most perfect indifference. I have had the honor of serving his Majesty for nearly half a century, in almost every quarter of the globe; and I trust those services have been such as to suffer no diminution in the estimation of my sovereign from any representation that may be made by the House of Assembly of New Brunswick."

Our limits forbid further notice of the differences in Sir Archibald's time, and we hasten to that of Sir John Harvey, who succeeded him in 1837. Sir John's career was a stormy one. He had warm friends and bitter foes. That our readers may judge of the nature of the attack and defence, we quote from a debate in the Assembly in 1842. We select this particular speech, because it was delivered

by the honorable Speaker of the House, a gentleman of high consideration, and reputed to possess great wealth, and because it affords proof, that political ferocity and personal invective can be practised among those who object to our institutions on account of their supposed tendency to produce these evils. The Speaker, in the course of his remarks, is reported to have said,

"That Sir John Harvey's name had been unnecessarily brought into the debate, and much had been said respecting the grant to him of £1500 for a service of plate, and which a certain faction had made use of to create excitement in the country, and make impressions unfavorable to the character of that distinguished gentleman; and he could not, as his name had been so frequently used in discussing this question, avoid alluding to another grant made at the last session, — the contingent grant of £1000. Sir John had scarcely left Fredericton, and, as Mr. S. believed, had not yet embarked at St. John, when it became publicly known, that all that fund had been expended. By whom this was communicated we have no means of knowing; but, said he, it is notorious that the enemies of Sir John Harvey circulated through the Province, by their emissaries, the most foul, false, and slanderous reports, for the purpose of injuring the private character of that honest, high-minded, liberal, and distinguished officer. He was by these slanderers charged with having appropriated the grant for contingencies, or a large part of it, to his own private use, and thus committing a fraud upon the public revenue. He had often indignantly seen the conduct of some of those already alluded to, those cringing, creeping, fawning, hypocritical sycophants, who would go to Sir John Harvey, and by declarations of devoted friendship for him, and of approval of his measures, impose upon his noble, honest, and unsuspecting disposition, and by such means — he (Sir John) supposing that they were like himself, honorable and above deception — obtain favors of which they were wholly undeserving; and in return, they were found on all occasions, by the most malignant and slanderous means, endeavouring to injure him in his public reputation, and to wound his private character. He now distinctly declared, without fear of contradiction, that *not one penny* of the contingent grant was appropriated to the private use of Sir John; and he pronounced those who asserted that he had so appropriated any part of it to be slanderers of the most base and malignant stamp. He said he had not language fully to express the abhorrence which every honest man would naturally feel at the base conduct of those slanderers. Had Sir

John Harvey remained in this Province, these wretches might have had the miserable palliation of unprincipled men, *that they had a political object to gain;* but to continue such villanous attacks after he had left the Province, and when no object could have existed but the gratification of the most deadly malice, was a degree of atrocity seldom, if ever, witnessed in a Christian country. But, said he, Mr. Chairman, Sir John Harvey is far above the reach of their malice; his character stands too high to be injured by such slanderers, in the mind of any honest man. He has attained an elevation of character which they can never reach; they may look up, and, like *the rich man and Lazarus*, they may behold afar off, — but there is a great gulf between him and them, which they can never pass."

Since the adjustment of the question of "casual" revenue in New Brunswick, on the basis of yielding it to the direction of the Assembly, if they would grant a reasonable civil list, the question of "responsible government" has received some attention, and considerable use was made of the phrase during the election for the Assembly in 1842. Some of the candidates, however, avowed their ignorance of what it was, and desired to be enlightened. At present, several subjects of interest are before the people of this Colony. Of these, we may mention that of the removal of the seat of government from Fredericton, in the interior, to St. John, on the seaboard; the settlement of the boundary line with Canada; the reduction of salaries; and the embarrassed condition of the Colonial finances. As regards the boundary, we had hoped that this well-nigh interminable question was disposed of; but there are indications that it is to become a bone of contention between the authorities of the two Colonies. Canada claims to extend to the vicinity of that somewhat celebrated spot in diplomacy, "Mars Hill"; while New Brunswick has had the jurisdiction as far as those very remarkable "highlands," which his Majesty of the Netherlands so easily found in the bed of a river, and to that very *well* ascertained point, the "northwest angle of Nova Scotia." The distinction between rivers flowing into the Atlantic from those falling into the Bay of Fundy is a point which, we hope, will *now* be made quite clear. Besides these topics, a reconstruction of the Legislative Council is demanded in some quarters, on the ground, that all religious sects should be represented in it; its present members, with

two exceptions, being Episcopalians. A change is required, also, on account of inequalities in other respects. Thus, some counties have an undue share of members,* while five are not represented at all; and a majority of the Council, and especially of those who attend the sessions, hold other and important offices, at the pleasure of the crown.

In closing our remarks, we would bear cheerful testimony to the uniform kindness of feeling manifested by our neighbours of New Brunswick towards the citizens of the republic whose homes are on the frontiers. "Predatory excursions across the border," said they, during the war of 1812, "will do nothing to adjust the differences between the two nations; and we will refrain from them." In the "Aroostook troubles," the government of Maine deemed it wise to station an armed force at Calais; but the subjects of her Majesty on the opposite side still came among their old friends, and could hardly have been driven to commence acts of aggression. More recently, when the principal town on the American side of the Passamaquoddy was swept by a conflagration, the inhabitants of St. John made up a liberal contribution — the only one that was offered — for the relief of the sufferers.

We enter now upon a brief exposition of some causes of disaffection, not hitherto noticed in our inquiries. These are many. Some exist in one Colony, some in another, and others are common to all. It is alleged by a numerous party in New Brunswick, that the salaries of the judges, the Colonial secretary, the clerk of the Supreme Court, and other dignitaries, as well as the emoluments of the principal city officers of St. John, are far too great; and the same charge is preferred against the receipts of several of the high personages of Nova Scotia. In the latter Colony, the inequality of representation in the House of Assembly is forcibly presented, as a matter demanding immediate correction; while in both, the calls upon the mother country to adopt their construction of the treaty of 1818, which defines our rights of fishing on their coasts, are loud and incessant. In

*A small town, until the recent death of one person, had three members, or a sixth part of the whole number. It still has two, who are both sons of Massachusetts Loyalists; and the deceased councillor's wife was the daughter of another, who sold that obnoxious article, "*tea*," in Dock Square, Boston. The fathers and father-in-law were proscribed and banished.

the former, complaints are made, also, of misapplication of the school fund, and a case is cited in which one favored family received the allowance assigned to a whole precinct. In Nova Scotia, there rages a heated contest for the endowment of sectarian colleges. In Upper Canada, religious zeal is evinced in another form ; and, as our fathers at the revolutionary era apprehended that Episcopacy was to overshadow them, so, here, the recent creation and endowment of more than fifty rectories has awakened the same fear, and given utterance to a similar animated protest on the part of the dissenting sects. The Colonists everywhere complain, that they are not allowed to impose differential duties in order to protect their interests from foreign competition ; and they consider it a grievance, that the imperial tariff acts, framed for "an empire upon which the sun never sets,"* should provide for the regulation of their commerce with other countries. When James Otis and Patrick Henry caused the startling cry of "Treason ! Treason !" to ring through the legislative halls of the two mother Colonies of America, the opinion had not been repeatedly expressed, that "six hundred men, who, perhaps, have never been out of Europe, cannot possess that universality of information, which must be necessary to regulate the unbounded commerce and foster the illimitable resources of every race of men on the face of the globe" ; or, still farther, that "the uncompromising assertion and unwise exercise of this power of *commercial regulation* will awaken a spirit of abhorrence for Great Britain among her Colonies, that will shake the empire to its centre." It was late in the controversy with "the thirteen," that the right of "commercial regulation" was denied. Between this right, and that of external and internal taxation, it was maintained that there was a difference ; but a distinction so subtile, we confess, has ever eluded our grasp. We will only say in addition, that, though, in theory,

* This beautiful thought is used in a variety of forms, and as if it were of recent origin. The honor of its conception, originally, belongs to an early period. That well known personage, "*Captaine Iohn Smith, sometimes Governour of Virginia and Admirall of New England,*" in his "*Advertisements for the Inexperienced, or the Pathway to erect a Plantation,*" published in 1631, says, "I could wish every Englishman to carry alwaies this Motto in his heart; why should the brave Spanish souldiers brag, *The Sunne never sets in the Spanish dominions, but ever shineth on one part or other we have conquered for our King ?*"

the home government has always claimed the power to regulate commerce, many of the Colonial legislatures have long since passed tariff laws discriminating in favor of their own industry, and that no serious effort has been made to prohibit local legislation on the subject until quite lately. It is an embarrassing question, whenever opened. No way to answer it could be found in 1776, that would satisfy all parties ; and subsequently, the sisterhood of States found no plan so likely to end the dissensions which sprang up, after those with their common parent had closed, as that of placing their commercial interests in the keeping of a federal head.

It is urged, that Colonial ships are denied the rank to which they are entitled, and that other prejudices excited against them do their owners no little harm. As by the rules "at Lloyd's," and elsewhere among underwriters in England, vessels "plantation-built" are seldom rated as "A. 1" ; and as this rank, when obtained, is lost by age in a few years, this class of ships are generally kept out of the best employments, and many of them, cast off by John, find their way, with a sagacity quite remarkable, to Jonathan's cotton ports. Since the peace of 1815, upwards of six thousand vessels, of more than three quarters of a million of tons, have been built in British America ; and it is believed, that the number of these employed in the China, East India, Cape, and Australian trades has been small, though a very considerable portion of the aggregate tonnage has been sold in the British Isles. This state of things has been displeasing to the Colonists concerned in shipping ; while, on the other side of the ocean, British merchants and artisans, to guard their interests still more effectually, actually desire to impose restrictions upon Colonial navigation entering at the home ports.

Besides the exciting subjects of contention, of which we have spoken, in Lower Canada, we might enumerate several others. We select two, though both arose mainly from one cause, — the old feudal tenure of lands. First, the French *seigneuries*, intervening between lands free for settlement, have greatly increased the difficulty and cost of making roads, and opening other facilities of transportation between the principal towns and neighbourhoods. The numerous and scattered clergy-reserves have increased the evil. We

remember to have seen it stated in the House of Commons, that, in consequence of these and similar difficulties, no road bill was passed by the Assembly of that Colony for fifteen years. In the second place, these lordships have been the source of great trouble, on account of the peculiar relations which they created between their owners and those who held under them, either as vassals, or by descent. They have been so frequently divided and subdivided, that, in some instances, the parts of owners were exceedingly small. Thus, Canadian newspapers have advertised for sale one thirteen-hundredth, one third of one seventh, and the forty-fourth part of a one two-hundred-and-fortieth, of an estate. It is needless to dwell on the necessity of modifying a system which leads to such complicated results as these ; and it is impossible to wonder, that the population of British origin have so earnestly insisted on having the tenure of real property simplified, and brought within rules which can be clearly understood. These *seigneuries* were grants by the French king to officers of the army, and to such others as had interest enough to procure them. They extended from a place nearly ninety miles below Quebec to about thirty miles above Montreal, and were nearly a hundred in number. Their existence has shut up a large extent of country on the St. Lawrence and its tributaries to the almost irresistible energies of the Saxon race. Englishmen, in the bosom of an English colony, have been treated as aliens and foreigners. All who went thither were promised, in the proclamation to which we have once referred, "the enjoyment of the benefits of the laws of our realm of England." Was the royal faith, plighted under the great seal of the kingdom, kept ? Most faithfully, for a while. Why, then, were these laws introduced, and, on the eve of our Revolution, abolished ? In the consultations of ministers, had the one event any connection with the other ? It was hoped, probably, that the restoration of the old system, and the establishment of a religion so abhorrent to the Puritans, would awe New England ; and if the boundaries of Canada were extended along the northern and western lines of Pennsylvania to the Ohio, and thence to the Mississippi, so as to encircle the whole of the disaffected Colonies, it would be seen, that open revolt would bring upon these Colonies a fearful French and Indian warfare along their inland frontier, while the fleets and armies

of the king ravaged their coasts. If they returned to their duty, this immense Colony and these institutions were to be a standing admonition to submission. The thought of "checking their growth," which Franklin rebuked, probably came up again.

Of the pertinency of these speculations our readers will judge. To us they seem not wholly without force. The letters of the Whigs, and their proceedings in Congress, evince great anxiety on the subject of the "Quebec Bill." The extinction of French power had been a favorite plan in the Colonies from the time of William and Mary, and the blood of New England had been shed upon every battle-ground in French America. We have seen, that a party in England had opposed the retention of Canada after its conquest, on the ground, that its annexation to the British crown would endanger the permanency of British rule, and that Franklin's interposition, and recital of the services and sacrifices of his countrymen in the war with the French, had been effectual. In politics, to open the Canada question anew, even at the expense of the sovereign's honor, may have been a grand movement. But the long train of disasters which have followed should teach politicians, that, in their proceedings, as in the private walks of life, perfidy is never successful. The wrong done by the Quebec Act furnished one of the reasons solemnly submitted to the world to justify the first dismemberment of the British empire; and a continuance of this wrong will hasten the second. But for that, the conquerers and the vanquished would long since have mingled and become one people. It took but a single generation to accomplish this fusion of races on the Mississippi, and it could not have taken three on the St. Lawrence. Lord St. Vincent, at the peace of 1783, predicted, that Canada would be "a running sore and the source of endless expense"; and he advised Lord Shelburne to surrender it. "My clear opinion is," said he, "that, if this fair occasion for giving up Canada is neglected, nothing but difficulty, in either keeping or resigning it, will ever after be known." How exact has been the fulfilment of this prediction! The course of our remarks has led us through many changes of administration, and who, at the head of the colonial office in Downing Street, has appeared exempt from difficulty in managing the Canadas?

The question suggests another topic of complaint, with which we leave this part of our subject. It is charged against the home government, that, instead of enjoying the benefit of the talents and wisdom of the ministry generally, and of the Colonial secretary especially, the weighty interests of British America have been intrusted, for a number of years, to the sole management of Mr. Under-Secretary Stephen. This is said to be the opinion of many of the Colonial governors, of many of the crown officers resident in the Colonies, and of many of the merchants in England connected with their trade. Unseen and irresponsible, he has managed, or mismanaged, every thing. We merely mention the accusation and leave it.

Having stated, as succinctly as we are able, the causes of the dissensions prevalent in the three Colonies, we may now say a few words respecting the different races which people them, and their relations to each other. In Lower Canada, as our readers are well aware, the struggle is between persons of French and British origin, each striving for the mastery. Mr. Pitt seems to have considered the amalgamation of the two as impossible, and to have urged a division of the Colony, in 1791, mainly for this reason. The emigrants from the British isles, it is true, were not very numerous at this time ; but the American Loyalists had gone there by thousands, and they were the class for whom he designed the special favor of a separate government. That the policy was unwise is, we think, sufficiently apparent from what we have said of the act of 1774 ; and that such is now the opinion of the statesmen of England is evident from the recent reunion. The process, so lately undertaken, of mingling into one the French, the American, and the direct British races, it were needless to repeat, might long since have been accomplished. Of the result, upon a trial under existing circumstances, it would be useless to conjecture. While Lower Canada was a separate Colony, the French were generally able to control the elective branch of the government ; and as we understand the basis of representation under the union, they are pretty sure to do so still.

By the line of division established by Mr. Pitt's act, the Loyalists, as a body, were placed by themselves. They were the first settlers of Upper Canada ; nor was it till about the opening of the present century, that any considerable

accessions were made to the population of that Colony from other sources. For twenty years, the country bordering on the Great Lakes was decidedly American. Our expatriated countrymen were generally poor, and some of them were actually without means to provide for their common wants from day to day. The government, for which they had become exiles, was as liberal as they could have asked. It gave them lands, tools, materials for building, and the means of subsistence for two years ; and to each of their children, as they became of age, two hundred acres of land. And besides this, of the offices and patronage created by the organization of a new colonial government they were the chief recipients. The ties of kindred and suffering in a common cause created a strong bond of sympathy between them, and for years they bore the appellation of " United Empire Loyalists."

As we mentioned in our last number some of the places settled by adherents of the crown in Nova Scotia and New Brunswick, we might dispense with particulars here. Still, it may not be amiss to add some general observations. When the revolutionary struggle commenced in Massachusetts, the inhabitants of these two Colonies, then forming but one, were sadly immoral and wretchedly poor. A letter from a Mr. Grant to Dr. Stiles is preserved, in which the writer quaintly says of Halifax, his place of residence, " We have upwards of one hundred licensed houses, and perhaps as many more which retail spirituous liquors without license ; so that the business of one half the town is to sell rum, and of the other half to drink it " ; and from the same source we learn, that on the river St. John, a tract now teeming with thousands of our lineage, the population was only four hundred. Both at Halifax and on the St. John there was a strong feeling in favor of the Whigs. Objections were made to the Loyalists finding a refuge at the former place, while the Colony generally not only furnished some recruits for the patriot cause, but two very respectable men, who came from it, attained the rank of colonels in the American service. Emphatically, then, do we again affirm, that Nova Scotia and New Brunswick, as we have just now seen in the case of Upper Canada, were founded by our errors, and our want of foresight and humanity. And while rebuking the policy of England in her dealings with the Canadians, we

may also remember, that a wiser course on our own part would have given us fewer rival wheat-growers, less Colonial tonnage, and less competition on the fishing-grounds and at the ports of shipment of our great staples.

The structure of society, then, in three of the four Colonies to which our attention has been directed, was originally like our own. Emigration from the United States and from Great Britain, during the last forty years, has produced great changes. The old order of things is passing away. The Loyalists and the new comers are in hostile array against each other. The former received the places of honor and emolument, at the commencement, because there were no others on whom to confer them. They and their kindred and connections by marriage have kept them, through the monarchical rule of perpetuating official rank in families. The latter have now become numerous, and, having practised leaders, they claim participation in the royal favor, and even the entire dispensation of it. Every effort to reconstruct the Legislative and Executive Councils, and to shorten or change the judicial tenure, which we have mentioned, has been designed to lessen or overturn the power of the Loyalists and their adherents. As highly conservative now as they and their fathers were two generations ago, they insist, that nothing shall be altered; but that, while the Colonial system, as regards commercial and manufacturing rights, has been materially improved for the benefit of the industrious classes, the political influence shall not depart from the "old families." The coalition between them and the "British party," which, in Upper Canada, under Sir Francis Head's administration, threw the Liberals into a minority in his new House of Assembly, was but transient; and we have shown how short-lived were the coalition ministries of Sir Charles Metcalfe and Lord Falkland, formed of Englishmen, Loyalists, and Liberals. The first was broken up, as appears by Sir Charles's statement, because he would not be ruled by those of the latter party; and we know certainly, that the second was dissolved because his Lordship put a check upon the hitherto supreme authority of Mr. Howe.

In Lower Canada, the inhabitants of British origin suffer wrong. Their government induced them to settle there, upon the royal promise of a "free system of English laws"; and

it has been recreant to truth and honor in not fulfilling this engagement. There, Englishmen are striving against Frenchmen ; but elsewhere, the Saxon race is contending against itself. Thus, in Upper Canada, the Liberals are composed of the three branches into which this race is divided ; the disaffected among the Loyalists, the emigrants from the Old World, and persons whose emigration from the United States had no reference to the Revolution. The strength of the party from this latter branch may be seen from the fact, that the Assemby dissolved by Sir Francis Head contained thirteen, or nearly one quarter of the whole number, who were Americans. In Nova Scotia and New Brunswick, there is much the same division ; and the head of the Liberals in the former Colony, as we have already mentioned, is of a Loyalist family. As of the opposition, so of the friends of the administration ; the Conservatives are made up of the same materials, though in dissimilar proportions. Few lately removed from the republic are Conservatives, while still fewer of those who were driven from among us by the civil war are Liberals ; and probably as many of the English, Irish, and Scotch, whose property qualifications give them political privileges, range themselves one side as the other.

In point of number, ability, and influence, the Colonial newspapers ranged on opposite sides may be nearly equal. In Canada, in 1843, the Liberals had about twenty-three, including neutrals, or those which are moderate in opposition ; and the Conservatives, nineteen or twenty. Of these, seventeen of the former description, and fourteen that support the crown, are in what was the Upper Colony. In the other two Colonies, there are not more than twenty-four of both parties. With several of these we are intimately acquainted. The tone and temper of some of them show, that they are under the control of gentlemen, while the manners of others might be sensibly improved. The spirit of the Conservative press, with here and there an exception, is unrelentingly hostile towards us and our institutions. Whenever there appears a paragraph of unusual bitterness, it may safely be attributed to the pen of a Loyalist.

What is to be the issue, — reconciliation or separation ? "Canada," said King William, "is not to be lost, or given away." That this part, or, indeed, any portion, of British America is to be permanently retained by the crown of

Great Britain, is a matter of great doubt at this time among the public men of all parties in the mother country. At the usual rate of increase, Canada will contain, in twenty years, a population equal to that of the thirteen Colonies in 1776; and, while they will be less scattered, they will have no servile race to weaken their strength, and no savages to annoy or terrify them. At the time of the revolt of the United States, none were bold enough to hope that the connection with England could be dissolved peaceably. But with regard to the present British possessions in America, such a hope may reasonably be entertained. As far back as 1828, Mr. Huskisson expressed the wish, that, if Canada was not to remain a dependency, the separation might occur "by amicable arrangement." Two years after, Sir Henry Parnell, member of parliament and chairman of the committee of finance, declared, that his countrymen "derived no commercial advantage from the Colonies, which they might not have without them," and that "the discovery of the real sources of wealth has shown the folly of wasting lives and treasure on colonial possessions." Again, it was said in a quarterly journal, which represented the opinions of a numerous party at that period, "We desire any one to point out a single benefit, of any sort whatsoever, derived by us from the possession of Canada and our other Colonies in North America." And the leading organ of the Conservatives admitted, that "there can be no doubt, that the value to Great Britain of various colonies is materially diminished by the altered circumstances of the world." It admitted further, that, "if the duties protecting the Colonial timber trade were abolished, the North American Colonies would become, *pro tanto*, valueless." The duties on Baltic timber have been much diminished, and, if this reasoning be correct, the partial abandonment of the policy of protecting the transatlantic timber interests has produced the consequences predicted. The same work, the London Quarterly Review, in closing its pungent remarks on Lord Durham's Report, used these words: "We can venture to answer, that every uncontradicted assertion of that volume will be made the excuse of future rebellions, — every unquestioned principle will be hereafter perverted into a gospel of treason; and that, if that rank and infectious Report does not receive the high, marked, and energetic discountenance and indignation of the

imperial crown and parliament, British America is lost." How many of the principles and recommendations of that "rank and infectious Report" have been adopted since 1839 !

There may be two great objections to parting with domains of such questionable value. The first is an unwillingness to lessen British consequence in the eyes of the world. Feelings of national pride are generally praiseworthy, and only blamable when so far indulged as to cause detriment to the public. But the colonial interests of England have become so multiform and conflicting, that legislation for one class of them is almost sure to prove injurious to another, while a general system which shall apply to all alike is impracticable. There is, therefore, continual complaint from some part of her dominions, and it can hardly be lessened, make what laws she may. The charges of intentional oppression of any branch of colonial industry are idle; and yet the ministry is continually vexed with remonstrances and deputations from aggrieved colonists. They can send no governor, however wisely selected, that will please all the colonial parties. If English gentlemen of any description are to be appointed governors of Canada, Nova Scotia, and New Brunswick, who more unobjectionable in every point of view than Sir Charles Metcalfe, Lord Falkland, and Sir William Colebrooke? The excellent Sir John Sherbroke expressed his conviction, many years since, that changes should be made in colonial governors as often as once in three years. So great alterations have occurred since he was a colonial ruler, that, on his principles, a gubernatorial term ought not now to endure six months. There can be no satisfaction to British statesmen of any party in governing remote provinces under circumstances like these. British America cannot cost the national treasury less than two millions of dollars annually, which sum is a direct loss ; and if it be true, as many Englishmen assert, that the protection of the colonial interests costs the residents in the British isles two or three times that sum in the enhanced price of products which could be obtained cheaper elsewhere, we do not know what reason, other than that of retaining unbroken her chain of influence throughout the world, can induce England to continue her rule in America. Whether, under this state of things, and under the burden of a vast debt and a grievous taxation, it

may be expedient to indulge this noble sentiment of preserving the integrity of dominions once acquired, is a question which her good and great men may be required to decide before another generation shall have passed away. To keep colonies for the mere sake of commercial advantage, or for the sake of vending manufactured goods, is now generally considered an idle thing. Whoever is at all familiar with the documentary history of our revolutionary era has met with bushels of remonstrances and petitions to parliament, all expressing in some form or other an apprehension that home industry would be ruined by a separation of the thirteen Colonies. We will give an instance. The merchants of Bristol were at that time largely concerned in the American trade, and in a most earnest appeal to government to preserve the empire unbroken, they declared, that, were independence acknowledged, their "port would be deserted, and not worth the charge of keeping up." How mistaken! Ten years elapsed, and the same worthy persons had prospered so much, and their trade had become so vast, that they petitioned parliament for leave to enlarge and improve their means of accommodating the ships of the newly born nation! Thus was it generally; and nothing can be more certain, than that Great Britain has gained much more by her trade with the United States since the acknowledgement of their freedom than before. So would it be with the remaining dependencies. How unwise was the policy, that wasted human life and millions of money, and caused enmities and heart-burnings which have not yet ceased, in order to keep us in colonial subjection, when nature's own irresistible laws had brought that subjection to an end! How inexcusable now would be a repetition of the same blunder!

A second reason why a surrender may be objected to is the fear lest these Colonies should unite with us. This unwillingness to do any thing which will add to our power is entirely justifiable. British statesmen are not to be blamed, because they refuse to make their rival great on the ocean, and greater still in the workshop. They are set to guard their own people's welfare, and should be reprobated by all true-hearted men the earth over, if false to this great trust. Our own position is secure, and all the armed ships and armed men of Europe cannot disturb it. The destiny of governing this continent is marked out for the people of the

United States ; and nothing but our own departure from the rule of right can prevent us from accomplishing this high purpose. Jealousy and ill-will on the part either of parent or children is to be heartily rebuked. We should exult, that "the mother of the Gracchi" is able to rule one hemisphere; and she should be equally willing to allow her children to direct the affairs of the other; and mankind should witness no strife between them.

If the Colonists north and east of us desire to separate from the parent stock and unite themselves to one of its branches, they should not be opposed by force. But we believe, that no such desire is common among them. On this point, we ask leave to tell what we deem to be the truth, and the whole of it; frankness is always best, even though unwelcome words are uttered. We believe, then, that there is now much less desire on the part of the British Colonists to join the American union than existed among them twenty or twenty-five years ago, when the old Navigation Act, and some of the laws of trade, which were resisted so manfully at a former period, were yet on the British statute-book. The removal of these restrictions did a vast deal to quiet those who take no share in the wrangles of the political arena; and events among ourselves — the repudiation of honest debts, the frequent violations of law and order, the prevalence of mobs, and other circumstances — have weaned many from their love of the United States. The hope of freedom, of establishing a government of their own, is perhaps increasing. That such a consummation may happen at the proper time, all may wish without offence. It is to this end that all effort should be directed. These Colonies must become a nation by themselves, or form a part of ours. Laws which man cannot alter have fixed a limit to colonial dependence. But let the Colonists bide their hour. Many a daughter has left the maternal home to lie in another, who would gladly return to the mother's embrace, but for vows thoughtlessly, though indissolubly, made. Those unions are most happy with which all the parties are satisfied; and we are full in the faith, that, before many years elapse, both the head of the family and the elder children will rejoice in the formation of a second American confederacy.

But whatever inclination may exist in the Colonies for

annexation to the United States, we can see no good which will result from it to either party, if it be speedily and hurriedly carried into effect. In the first place, there is no likelihood that the incongruous materials of which the population of British America is composed, torn and distracted as it now is, and as it must be, for some time to come, could be moulded into one homogeneous mass under the wisest plan that could be adopted; and if we could blend and bind together these discordant elements at will, it were better to defer the experiment, till the toil and trouble of fusing into one the mass already in our seething caldron are ended. Again, no great branch of our industry would be benefited by a closer intimacy, and no good derived from it which we may not enjoy without it. We have no need of additional wheat-lands or pine-forests; and if those on whom the duty devolves will but hold Great Britain to the long understood construction of our fishing rights under the convention of 1818, we shall have no use for more extensive fishing-grounds. Of coal we have abundance ; and with regard to gypsum, Nova Scotia has never had any other customer, and until we parted with the vantage-ground, by McLane's arrangement, in 1830, we had always taken that bulky article on terms that permitted the use of our own tonnage. Least of all do we wish for increased competition in maritime enterprises. The Colonists can build vessels much cheaper than we can ; and should they be allowed a share of our coasting trade, which now employs nearly two thirds of our whole shipping, the consequences would be disastrous to those portions of our people, whose location hardly leaves them liberty to choose any other employment.

In conclusion, we have a word of advice for one of the States most deeply interested in our relations with the British Colonies. Maine, by the treaty of Washington, has obtained a considerable extent of territory inhabited by people of French origin. We pray her to look to their welfare, and to make them part and parcel of her own citizens without delay. They are but a grain of mustard seed now, it is true ; but the French, at the time of the conquest of Canada, were only a small part of the population of British America; and what have they become ? Let the frontier State, then, be wise in time. Let her afford them the means of improving their husbandry and reconstructing their dwellings. Let

them be instructed in the elementary principles of our political system. And, above all, let their children at once be placed under school teachers who are competent and of pure life, who will teach them the Saxon tongue, and all the branches of education common to her best free schools. Else,

> "Nor happiness
> Domestic, mixed of tenderness and care,
> Nor moral excellence, nor social bliss,
> Nor guardian law were theirs; nor various skill
> To turn the furrow, or to guide the tool
> Mechanic."

ART. V.—*Memoir and Correspondence of* MRS. GRANT OF LAGGAN, Author of "Letters from the Mountains," "Memoirs of an American Lady," &c. Edited by her Son, J. P. GRANT, Esq. 3 vols., small 8vo. London. 1844.

WE shall begin a notice rather of Mrs. Grant herself than of the book just published, by speaking of her as she was in the latter period of her life. In 1820, she met with a severe accident, a fall, which produced permanent lameness, so that ever afterwards she was unable to move about without crutches. In 1827, when she was in her seventy-third year, she lost her only surviving daughter, Mary; and of a large family of children, but one son, the editor of her posthumous correspondence, remained. Her life had been marked by a peculiar series of domestic sorrows, and seemed to be closing in sadness and infirmity. If, shortly after this time, a well educated traveller from this country had visited Edinburgh, he would probably have been desirous to take a last look of one of whom he might have heard much to excite his respect and interest. He might naturally have expected to find her weighed down by age and affliction, broken in health and spirits. But, notwithstanding her lameness, this impression would soon have been removed in the course of a single visit. He would have seen a most respectable-looking old lady, with a countenance marked by

the traces of past suffering, but still cheerful and animated. He would have found her ready to converse, and conversing in a manner particularly unaffected and agreeable. If it had been in her power to render him, as a stranger, any small services, which might very likely have been the case, from her extensive connections with society, no one would have been more ready to think of and to offer them. Her sympathies were unchilled. Through them she was still able to give and receive pleasure. She was an extraordinary woman, a woman of uncommon strength and excellence of character.

The impression which she was likely to make on a stranger is expressed in a passage of a letter to her by one who had visited her shortly before writing it, which is given in the introductory memoir to the volumes under review. We quote it in this place principally because it is not quite correctly printed, and we happen to have a copy of the original before us. "It was delightful," says the writer, "to find you in old age, after such severe trials, so supported and strengthened by the power of God, — not resigned merely, possessing not the calm benevolence of age alone, but all the kinder feelings in their freshness and flower, which, beautiful as they are in youth, become so much more deeply interesting when we know that care and sorrow have had no power to wither them, and that they will soon form part of that crown of glory which fadeth not. If we could have forgotten the blessings which God has for a time taken to himself, and is reserving for you in his keeping, we might have thought of you only as one,

> 'Whose cheerful day benevolence endears,
> Whose night congratulating conscience cheers,
> The general favorite, as the general friend.'"

In what follows we shall give a short account of the life and writings of Mrs. Grant. It may serve to explain in part why she was regarded with strong affection by many friends, and even by friends to whom she was personally unknown; and it may prepare one for reading with more interest the volumes just published. We shall bring together facts which have not before been presented in connection. Besides her published writings, we have some other sources of information, and especially two manuscript collections,

with which we have been kindly favored, of copies of her letters, addressed to two American friends, only one of which letters appears in the present collection. To the volumes of her correspondence just published a brief memoir is prefixed, partly autobiographical, the conclusion being furnished by the editor. But the events of her earlier life are principally to be gathered from her "Memoirs of an American Lady."

The maiden name of Mrs. Grant was Anne Macvicar. She was born at Glasgow, on the 21st of February, 1755, — the daughter of Duncan Macvicar, whom she describes as "a plain, brave, pious man." Of her mother, who survived till 1811, dying in her daughter's house in Edinburgh in her eighty-fourth year, there are but few notices in her writings; and those few may lead one to think, that she was not in all respects qualified to instruct and open the mind of her child. "I dearly loved idleness," says Mrs. Grant, in her "Memoirs of an American Lady," "and the more, because my mother, who delighted in needle-work, confined me too much to it." This was when she was five years old; and she mentions more than once "the long tasks and close confinement," which she had to endure in her childhood.

Her father was a subaltern in a regiment ordered for America, and sailed for this country in 1757. He was followed by his wife and child the next year. These he established at Claverack, on the Hudson, about thirty-five miles below Albany, at board with a "worthy, wealthy, and most primitive" Dutch family. Here little Anne was taught to read by her mother, and learned to talk Dutch; and learned too, as at a later period she believed, "among the primitive worthies of the settlement, that love of truth and simplicity which she afterwards found a charm against artifice and pretension of every kind." Her only books were a primer and the Bible. She grew in time familiar with the Old Testament; and, in addition to her books, a Scotch sergeant brought her the ballad of "Blind Harry's Wallace." He assisted her to understand its broad Scotch; and the ballad filled her with youthful enthusiasm for Scotland and its hero.

In 1760, when Anne was five years old, her father, who had been stationed at Oswego, rejoined his family. She represents herself as having been strongly impressed by his

religious character, in comparison with that of other military men with whom she had been acquainted. He did not swear, and he prayed. His family accompanied him, on his return to Oswego, whither he was conducting a company to join the garrison at that place. A great part of the journey was through an uncultivated wilderness. It was full of romantic incident, and presented a succession of picturesque scenery, rendered more striking by the passage of soldiery forcing their slow way through those lonely retreats of nature. The mind of a lively and imaginative child could not but be strongly affected by it; and Mrs. Grant has given a vivid description of it in her "Memoirs of an American Lady." "I am convinced," she says, "that I thought more in that fortnight, that is, acquired more ideas, and took more lasting impressions, than ever I did in the same space of time in my life."

Anne, with her parents, remained the succeeding winter and spring in the fort at Oswego; and no particular incident seems to have diversified what must have been to her a dull life in that remote garrison. But in the summer of 1762, when she was seven years old, her father returned, with his wife and child, to join a body of troops stationed at Albany. Anne left nothing behind her which was near her heart, but a tame partridge and six pigeons.

On the journey back, occurred one of the most eventful incidents of her early life. The party arrived in the evening at a fort on the Mohawk, where Captain Campbell, an old friend of her father, was stationed. The rest of the story must be given in her own words.

"On that evening we returned to Fort Bruerton. I found Captain Campbell delighted with my reading, my memory, and my profound admiration of the friendship betwixt David and Jonathan. We staid the most of the next day. I was much captivated with the copperplates in an edition of Paradise Lost, which, on that account, he had given me to admire. When I was coming away, he said to me, "Keep that book, my dear child; I foretell that the time will come when you will take pleasure in it." Never did a present produce such joy and gratitude. I thought I was dreaming, and looked at it a hundred times, before I could believe any thing so fine was really my own. I tried to read it, and almost cried with vexation when I found I could not understand it. At length I quitted it in de-

spair; yet always said to myself, I shall be wiser next year."—*Memoirs of an American Lady*, p. 238. American Ed.

This volume was the means of introducing her to the most distinguished woman of the Province of New York, Madam Schuyler; who, though she herself continued a Royalist to the last, was aunt of the eminent and excellent General Schuyler, to whose services in our American Revolution due honor has not yet been paid. At Albany, in a waste-room, where she found a tattered dictionary, Anne, by the aid of this, and with occasional assistance from those who were able and willing to help her through her difficulties, studied out the meaning of her Milton, feeling an absorbing interest in the pursuit, which a student of riper years might well envy. This is the kind of study which benefits the mind. Impressions thus received are ineffaceable. "Time ran on," is her own account, given in after life; "I was eight years old, and quite uneducated, except reading and plain-work. When company came, I was considered as in the way, and sent up to my waste-room; but here lay my whole pleasure; for I had neither companions nor amusement."

Meanwhile, the fame of Madam Schuyler reached her ears, and she was earnestly desirous of seeing her. The opportunity at last arrived. Her father took lodgings in Albany, in a house next to that lady's; and she, being pleased with what she heard of his character, sent an invitation to the family to pass the evening with her. "With no little awe and agitation," says Mrs. Grant, "I came into the presence of Madame." But she was now about to receive a great reward for her faithful study of Milton. She says:

"In the course of the evening, dreams began to be talked of; and every one in turn gave their opinion with regard to that wonderful mode, in which the mind acts independent of the senses, asserting its immaterial nature in a manner the most conclusive. I mused and listened, till at length the spirit of quotation (which very early began to haunt me) moved me to repeat, from Paradise Lost,

> 'When nature rests,
> Oft in her absence mimic fancy wakes,
> To imitate her; but, misjoining shapes,
> Wild work produces oft.'

I sat silent when my bolt was shot; but so did not Madame. Astonished to hear her favorite author quoted readily by so

mere a child, she attached much more importance to the circumstance than it deserved; so much, indeed, that, long after, she used to repeat it to strangers in my presence, by way of accounting for the great fancy she had taken to me. These partial repetitions of hers fixed this lucky quotation indelibly in my mind." — *Memoirs of an American Lady*, pp. 243, 244.*

The connection thus formed grew stronger, and had an important influence on Anne's happiness and improvement,

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* It is remarkable, that of the manner of her introduction to the notice of Madam Schuyler Mrs. Grant has given three different accounts, each inconsistent in its details with both of the others. That quoted above has the appearance of being the most correct. In the autobiographical memoir, prefixed to the posthumous collection of her letters, she says: "Some time after our arrival at Albany, I accompanied my parents one evening to visit Madame Schuyler. . . . . The conversation fell upon dreams and forewarnings. I rarely spoke till spoken to, at any time; but, of a sudden, the spirit moved me to say, that bad angels sometimes whispered dreams into the soul. When asked for my authority, I surprised every one, but myself most of all, by a long quotation from Eve's fatal dream, infusing into her mind the ambition that led to guilt. After this happy quotation I became a great favorite, and Madame Schuyler never failed to tell any one who had read Milton of the origin of her partiality."

But the quotation given above, which Mrs. Grant supposed to have been indelibly fixed in her mind, is not a long quotation from Eve's account of her dream, but is taken from Adam's reply to her; and nothing is said in it about bad angels whispering dreams into the soul.

Again; in her "Letters from the Mountains," (Letter XXI.,) she says: "My father attracted Madame Schuyler's notice by his piety, not very frequently a distinguishing feature in the military character. I will not tire you with the detail of all the little circumstances that gradually acquired me the place in her favor which I ever continued to possess. *She saw me reading Paradise Lost with delighted attention;* she was astonished to see a child take pleasure in such a book, and no less so to observe, that I loved to sit thoughtful by her, and hear the conversations of elderly and grave people."

These three passages strikingly illustrate the fact, that a story may be unquestionably true in all its essential characteristics and bearings, though individuals who have been placed in the best possible circumstances for knowing the truth — eye and ear witnesses — may differ from each other irreconcilably in their details of it. We have here three narratives of a single individual relating to an incident adapted to make a deep impression on her memory, and they are irreconcilable.

The general truth just mentioned has not often been very grossly disregarded, except by those who have objected to the essential truth of the facts recorded in the Gospels on account of the unessential discrepancies in the narrations of them by different Evangelists. But it is a truth which does not appear to have dawned upon the minds of some of the modern German writers of this class. Adopting their style of criticism on the Gospels, and applying it to Mrs. Grant's narratives, we should undoubtedly conclude, that the whole story about Milton was a *myth*, and that Mrs. Schuyler was probably a *mythical* personage; especially as, in immediate connection with one of the narratives quoted, Mrs. Grant expressly says, that she "regarded her as the Minerva of her imagination."

during the remaining four years which she spent in America. Mrs. Schuyler, who had no children of her own, appears to have become much attached to the intelligent little girl who loved and revered her, and to have found her often her most pleasant companion.

She now obtained access to more books, and among them to Shakspeare, and was not a little mortified when she found herself unable to appreciate his merits. "I thought his plays," she says, "very inferior to Cato, whom Aunt [Madam] Schuyler had taught me to admire." But she persevered in their study.

"'I remember,' she relates, 'reading Hamlet the third or fourth time, in a frosty night, by moonlight, in the back porch. This reiterated perusal was not in consequence of any great pleasure it afforded me; but I was studiously laboring to discover the excellence I thought it must needs contain; yet with more diligence than success.'"—*Memoirs of an American Lady*, p. 288.

Her mind gradually unfolded, and Shakspeare became to her a new source of delight. But her efforts at intellectual improvement were pursued under great disadvantages and discouragements. At one time, a terrible decree went forth, that she was to read no more "idle books or plays." She had, it may be feared, neglected her sewing tasks. She was driven to read books of divinity, probably Calvinistic divinity. But, with a degree of casuistry, in which young people are apt to display their talents on such occasions, she persuaded herself that the spirit of the prohibition did not exclude the reading of the historical plays, because they were true; and in the lapse of time, she evidently regarded the decree itself as having become obsolete.

In 1768, when she was thirteen years old, her father, who had been suffering much in his spirits and health, determined to return with his wife and child to Scotland, and Anne left America never to see it again. Thus ends one epoch of her long, eventful, and changing life, during which she had to do and to suffer much, and was brought into close connection with very different forms of life, and very different classes of mankind. In America she had become acquainted with the primitive manners of the Dutch settlers on the Hudson, she had spent months in a garrisoned fort on Lake Ontario,

she had been familiar with our aborigines, who still dwelt in the neighbourhood of Albany; she had, in company with her father, visited a great Indian king or chief in his palace or wigwam on the Mohawk, and "went out of the royal presence overawed and delighted"; she was in a few years to become the wife of a Highland clergyman, and to dwell among another portion of mankind scarcely less peculiar, and not less romantic in their aspect, than our native Indians; and thence she was to be removed to associate familiarly with a highly cultivated and intellectual circle, that drew upon itself the gaze of the world.

On her return to Scotland, her father entered into some kind of business at Glasgow, and here she remained, without any particular incident to mark her life, till the commencement of her nineteenth year. She here, however, formed an intimate friendship with two young ladies, sisters, of the name of Ewing, and with another, Henrietta Reid. It continued with each of them till it was dissolved by death. The two former appear in the last collection of her letters under the names of Mrs. Smith and Mrs. Brown. To Miss Reid many of her earlier printed letters are addressed. This lady was soon, but not happily, married. Her husband was unfortunate in business, and other circumstances contributed to her discomfort. "She was," says Mrs. Grant, "a perfect model of patient meekness, always suffering, never complaining, frugal, industrious, and preserving not the equanimity only, but the dignity and delicacy of her mind, through all exigencies." Her family increased rapidly, and she died in giving birth to her eleventh child.*

In 1773, Mrs. Grant's father received the appointment of Barrack-master of Fort Augustus, in Inverness-shire, and removed his family thither. With her journey to that place commences the portion of Mrs. Grant's correspondence which was published under the title of "Letters from the Mountains." The first forty of them contain an account of the incidents of her life, with notices and sketches of friends and acquaintance, during the six years between her leaving Glasgow and her marriage (when twenty-four years old) in May, 1779. Her residence during this period was at Fort Augustus, where she formed a friendship with Miss Ourry,

* MS. Letter.

afterwards Mrs. Furzer, to whom many of her letters are addressed. On the first evening after her arrival there, she met her future husband, the Rev. James Grant.

The account of the events and concerns of her life during the interval just mentioned, to be read with interest, must be read in her own letters. The society at Fort Augustus was, in general, far from being agreeable; and in her circumstances, there could, for the most part, have been nothing very gratifying. Whatever she effected for her own improvement it would seem that she must have done with little aid from without. Yet there is no repining in her letters. Her cheerfulness and alacrity of mind do not appear to have failed.

Her residence at Fort Augustus was terminated by her marriage. This connection, as regards both the character and the circumstances of her husband, seems to have been peculiarly adapted to make her happy. She was free from the cravings and sufferings of vanity and the love of display. She had no tendency to regard herself as an extraordinary personage, to whom her fellow-creatures were in danger of doing injustice by neglect. In her simplicity and true-heartedness, she was happy to be the wife of an obscure Highland clergyman, without the least thought of ever becoming famous; though pleased, without doubt, to gratify her friends by her talents in writing letters and making verses, and by the vivacity of her conversation. While she was faithfully performing her duties in the secluded parish of Laggan, of which her husband was the pastor, few things could have seemed less probable than that she should become known to the world. But for circumstances that could not be anticipated, she would probably have lived and died in the Highlands, one of those "of whom Fame speaks not," but

> "gentle hearts rejoice
> Around their steps, — till silently they die."

In truth, the fame of Mrs. Grant, if it may be so called, was in great part only an expression of esteem for those admirable qualities of character, exercised in domestic and private life, which her vicissitudes and sufferings were accidentally the means of bringing into public view.

Somewhat more than two years after her marriage, she wrote to her friend, Miss Ewing, describing her situation. The letter is dated at Fort Augustus, where she was on a visit. She says:

"You will think I am talking very solemnly about travelling the twenty-five miles between here and Laggan; for I do not know that ever I told you how peculiarly we are situated with regard to each other. This district is divided from ours by an immense mountain called *Corryarrick.* That barrier is impassable in the depth of winter, as the top of it is above the region of clouds; and the sudden descent on the other side peculiarly dangerous, not only from deep snows concealing the unbeaten track of the road, but from whirlwinds and eddies that drive the snow into heaps; besides an evil spirit which the country people devoutly believe to have dwelt there time out of mind.

"I was rather urgent in requesting permission to make this visit, because my little daughter is here, who loves me and smiles on me irresistibly, and whom I must needs leave as a substitute for myself; and then I resolved to enjoy the last fading gleams of autumn here, and embrace my dear parents before I should be separated from them all winter by this dreadful barrier. The society is varied by some new characters; not military ones, but just such harmless, good-humored people as one takes a pleasure in pleasing, and leaves without a pang. My mate has chosen this time to visit his Strathspey friends. I am beginning to be on the spur homeward; snow is now beginning to fall; but though I should 'ride on clouds and skies,' I must get home immediately.

"Now I will give you a sketch of our situation, and you will say 't is time. After crossing this awful mountain, we travel eastward through twelve miles of bleak, inhospitable country, inhabited only by moor-fowl, and adorned with here and there a booth, erected for a temporary shelter to shepherds, who pass the summer with their flocks in these lonely regions. On leaving this waste, you enter a vale six miles in length, and half a mile broad, which wants nothing but wood to be beautiful; it has indeed some copses, or what the Scottish bards call shaws. This vale consists entirely of rich meadow and arable lands, and has the clear and rapid Spey running through the middle of it. About the centre of this vale, at the foot of a mountain which screens it from the north wind, stands our humble dwelling." — *Letters from the Mountains*, Vol. I., pp. 222 – 224.

This residence she elsewhere describes as a "comfortable cottage, consisting of four rooms, light closets, and a nursery and kitchen built out by way of addition."

"You will wonder," she continues, "we have not the good house to which the pastor's office entitles him. That should be

built on the glebe, and can be nowhere else, and this glebe is a nook which none but a hermit would inhabit. Then we are so far from market, that, unless the ravens were commissioned to feed us, we could not do without a farm; which affording us every necessary of life, we send to Inverness (only fifty miles off) for elegances and superfluities; elegant sugar, and superfluous tea, for instance. The last incumbent preferred getting this farm at an easy rate and living in a cottage of his own building, to a more elegant mansion without that advantage; and we have made the same sacrifice of vanity to convenience. We have a great extent of moor and hill grazing, where they say we may feed some hundreds of sheep, a very suitable flock for a person who ought to be much detached from secular cares, having a shepherd kept purposely to attend them. They require even in winter no food or shelter, but what the hills afford. Our neighbours abound in courtesy and civility, and many of them, having been abroad in the army, are sufficiently intelligent." — *Letters from the Mountains*, Vol. I., pp. 224, 225.

During her married life, her principal sufferings seem to have arisen from that severe calamity which pursued her through her after years, the sickness and death of her children. But she was about to meet with a still heavier loss. The following simple and affecting narrative of her afflictions is from her autobiographical memoir. A gentleman, Mr. Mackintosh of Dunchattan, who was uncle by marriage to Sir John Moore,

" procured a commission in the army for our eldest son, John Lauchlan, then a mere boy, but a most amiable and promising one: he died in Glasgow, of consumption, in his sixteenth year. This was a great blow, and bore heavy on his father, whose health had been always very precarious. I had mourned over three children, who died previously, in early infancy. The birth of my youngest child, a fortnight after the death of his brother, carried off my thoughts, in some degree, from this affliction. The daily decline of Mr. Grant's health, though I was unwilling to see it, now forced itself on my attention. He outlived his son eighteen months. — I cannot go through details ever painful to memory: suffice it that he was removed in 1801, after an attack of inflammation of three days' continuance; and I was thus left with eight children, not free from debt, yet owing less than might be expected, considering the size of our family, and the decent hospitality, which was kept up in a manner that, on looking back, astonishes even myself, as it did others at the time.

I was too much engrossed with my irreparable loss on the one hand, and too much accustomed to a firm reliance on the fatherly care of Him who will not abandon the children of a righteous man, on the other, to have any fears for the support of so many helpless creatures. I felt a confidence on their account that to many might appear romantic and extravagant." — *Memoir and Correspondence*, Vol. I., pp. 13, 14.

From this time till the close of her long days, Mrs. Grant continued to be *a traveller between life and death.* She had said of herself, at a much earlier period, in a letter to her friend, Miss Ourry, —

"My meditations hover so constantly about the confines of the world unknown, where my aching eyes are continually exploring the departing footsteps of those who still live in my remembrance, that I now see this world and all its vanities, as the Apostle says we do futurity, 'through a glass, darkly.' These frequent excursions of the mind into the trackless ocean of vast eternity contribute not a little to throw a dim shade over every thing that dazzles and attracts in this valley of vision." — *Letters from the Mountains*, Vol. II., p. 32.

At her husband's death, she was left in circumstances above absolute want. "But my friends," she says, "were more apprehensive of pecuniary distress for me than I was for myself." Some of them, during her married life, had urged her to write for the booksellers; but for this she had had neither inclination nor leisure. Her family duties and interests pressed too much upon her thoughts and her time to allow her to engage in mere literary labor. It was during the nights of winter or in the dawn of summer mornings, that she found time to write those letters to the friends of her early days, that first made her advantageously known to the world. At the same time she distrusted her abilities for the proposed task. Of her powers, no one, from first to last, seems to have formed a more correct estimate than herself. Her mind was too sound, and she was too free from vanity, to be deluded by the partiality of those who loved her while yet generally unknown, or by the celebrity which she afterwards obtained.

But it was her lot to become an authoress. "I had early," she says, "discovered a faculty of rhyming, scarcely worthy to be dignified with the name of poetry, but easy

and fluent." A considerable number of her short poems had been dispersed among her friends, of which she had retained no copy. These they now collected and determined to publish by subscription. She was induced to revise and add to them. Her friends were numerous and warmly attached to her. Her husband's memory was respected, and her circumstances, wherever made known, excited interest. The Duchess of Gordon, who resided during summer at a seat near Laggan, warmly patronized the proposal; and it was uncommonly successful. Three thousand copies of the volume were subscribed for. It appeared in 1803.

In June of the same year, she was deprived of her father, just as she had sold off her farm stock and all her property at Laggan, for the purpose of removing nearer to her parents, who then lived at Glasgow. This event changed her plans. She took a sorrowful departure from Laggan toward the end of that month, and removed to Woodend, a beautiful, but sequestered spot in the neighbourhood of Stirling. Besides her own large family, including her mother, she had with her three children from the West Indies, who were placed under her care. Her pecuniary means were enlarged by the compensation which she received for this charge;* and they continued to be so from a similar source during the greater part of her remaining life. Many young ladies were successively intrusted to her care as inmates of her family; and the interest which she felt in them, and the gratitude and affection which they retained for her, contributed much to her happiness. But the number at any one time was not great. She speaks in one of her letters of being able to fill a large house, if she received under her tuition all who applied for it. "But," she adds, "I see daily more reason to restrict the number of my pupils to three or four." The great benefit which Mrs. Grant was expected to afford her pupils was, not so much literary instruction, as her influence in forming their minds and manners, and, at a later period, when she removed to Edinburgh, an introduction into the society which frequented her house.

At Woodend, Mrs. Grant appears to have been removed into an uncongenial soil. She had lost him who was dearest

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* MS. Letter.

to her ; she missed greatly the warm feelings of her former friends, and the affections of the humble cottagers at Laggan. Wide in her own sympathies, she was greatly dependent for her happiness on the sympathy of others, on friendship, and on that social intercourse which is not a mere reciprocation of civilities, but in which heart speaks to heart and mind mingles with mind. "I think," she says in one of her letters after her removal, "I could not desire to live a day longer than while my heart was warmed by an affectionate intercourse with those I love." And of this intercourse, out of her own family, she enjoyed but little at Woodend. One lady, however, formed an exception to the general character of the society about her. "Of Lady Stewart," she says, "my kind departed friend, I must ever think with the gratitude I owed to her, and with the esteem which every one paid to her merits. She was my next, my kindest, I might well say my only kind neighbour at Woodend. By others in the vicinity I was little known and less understood." In 1806, she removed to Stirling.

The same year, a little before her removal, her second work, the "Letters from the Mountains," appeared. The circumstances which led to its publication were particularly affecting. As they are referred to in her Memoir, and stated, though briefly, in her posthumous correspondence, we do not hesitate to give them a little more in detail from a long narrative contained in an unpublished letter lying before us.

The correspondence forming the "Letters from the Mountains" had been preserved and collected by her friends; and its publication was strongly urged upon her by them, as a means of pecuniary benefit. The letters were put into her hands, and she finally undertook to revise and prepare them for the press; not with the thought of publishing them during her lifetime, from which she shrunk with great reluctance, but in the hope that they might be of benefit to her children, if she should be taken from them. "While," she says, "I was thus retracing the past, and tasting the sweets and bitters of recollection, the thunder burst over my head, which for a time blasted all my remains of comfort."

Her eldest surviving son, Duncan, who, after making all allowance for the partiality of a mother's praise, appears to have been an uncommonly promising youth, had determined, contrary to her inclination, to enter the army. He was

then at the age of sixteen, pursuing his military studies at Marlow; and she had just received the gratifying intelligence, that he had made such proficiency, that in ten days he would be removed as a cadet to Woolwich.

"I perceived," she says, "just about that time, a degree of smothered anguish in the countenance of my daughter, that surprised me; but thought that she had, perhaps, in looking over the letters, seen something that had made her memory bleed afresh with recollected sorrows, and I wished to dissipate them as best I could. I was under engagements to dine at Stirling with an old military friend of my father's, and had business also of some kind to transact. Mary pleaded a headache, and would not accompany me. On which, I took her sisters with me, and returned in the evening pensive enough. No one came to meet me, or seemed glad of my return. Mary, my eldest, followed me into my own room, and told me to collect all my courage and dependence on Divine Providence, and expect the worst I could possibly hear. 'To whom does it relate?' 'To Duncan.' 'What has he done?' 'Covered us with disgrace and sorrow such as we never knew.' It rushed into my mind that he could never *live* in ignominy, and I sunk on the ground in agony from an idea too horrid to express. 'Has the immortal spirit yielded to despair? Is the door of repentance open?' 'Yes, but he is disgraced.' I rose on my knees to thank God that he had not abandoned him beyond hope. I then read a letter, which Mary had concealed till my visit and business were over, well knowing how incapable I should be, after hearing it, of doing any thing. I found that my son had been engaged in a mutiny that broke out among the youths at Marlow, occasioned by overstrained severity of discipline. But how my son should be involved seemed inexplicable, considering his steady, manly character, and his approaching removal, which made it to him a matter of indifference how Marlow was governed. In the extreme anguish of my spirit, I sat down and wrote a few lines of earnest expostulation to the Duke of York; taking the guilt of the culprit for granted, yet pleading the ruin and desolation in which his final destiny would involve a family, whose honor, stained in him, was their chief earthly possession. That unhappy and culpable, yet truly humane, character returned me, of whom he knew nothing but my distress, an answer by the very next post, saying, that even his compassion could not avail, as the fatal sentence was past, and none but his Majesty (then greatly indisposed) could interfere with the sentence of a court martial; but that, if I had another son duly qualified, he would recommend

him to a commission in the line. In the mean time my unhappy son, with six others, was sentenced to be cashiered and rendered incapable of serving his Majesty."

She felt this as an indelible stigma. She dreaded that her son would be driven to desperation. But he was taken home by a lady (the daughter of Mrs. Dunlop, the friend of Burns) to her house in London, and soothed by pity and kindness. He was thus prevented from taking shelter on board a man-of-war, as he first intended.

"Meantime, his patron, the excellent and well known Mr. Charles Grant, Chairman at the India House, went to Marlow to examine into the merits of the cause. He found the concurring testimony of all concerned to his previous good behaviour, and attention both to duty and study. The night the riot arose he was at his post of sentinel, and did not join the rioters. Those detected in arms were imprisoned; and two days after, as Duncan walked the parade, the colonel who presided over the college asked him, 'where he was that night'; he said, 'On his post.' He then asked, if he 'knew any thing previously of this design, or how many were embarked in it besides those detected.' He said he knew well of their intention, and how many were embarked in it, and that there were a great number. On this, the colonel insisted on his naming them. This, Duncan said, was impossible. They had consulted him on the proposed enterprise, he had given them his honor not to betray them, but advised them to desist, and told them he had no interest in the affair, being immediately to remove to Woolwich. On hearing all this, the colonel was extremely incensed at his obstinacy in keeping the secret, and brought him to trial, when he was convicted, on an article of war which orders a sentinel in such a case to fire, because he had not fired at his companions on that fatal night when they did not answer."

When she found that her son's conduct was not accounted morally dishonorable, Mrs. Grant was greatly relieved. But she was much at a loss what to do. Her friend, Mrs. Furzer, who was residing at Richmond, urged her to come to London, in order that she might there settle her son's future destination. On this she determined; and accordingly, in the middle of winter, took passage for that place. She went by sea, from motives of frugality.

In London, Mrs. Grant succeeded in making the most desirable arrangement for her son, which could then be effected.

He was appointed a cadet in the East India Company's service. His course was honorable; he rose rapidly in his profession; and gave joy and hope to his mother. But the objects of her affection were continually taken from her. He died at Surat, in 1814.*

The expenses attendant on this business, and especially on her son's equipment for India, pressed heavily on Mrs. Grant. "It encroached," she says, "on the very little I had reserved for my daughters." In this exigency, to avoid diminishing what she "considered as the family stock," she yielded to the solicitations of her friends, and reluctantly determined to make trial of the publication of her letters.

She consequently obtained an introduction to Messrs. Longman & Co. "I went to them," she says, "with no enviable feelings, being fully as much ashamed of my shabby manuscript as Falstaff was of his ragged recruits." Mr. Longman, however, received her graciously, and in a few days she was informed that the letters would do very well for publication. This was in the spring of 1805. She returned to Scotland, and heard nothing more of her book till the spring of the following year. She began to despair of its ever being published. But at last she received a letter informing her that it was printed, and only needed a preface. The preface was written and despatched in half an hour. The "Letters from the Mountains" appeared; and "no person, I believe," says Mrs. Grant, "was so astonished at their success as myself." They rapidly passed through several editions. Her booksellers were liberal; and, to use her own words, "many persons of distinguished worth interested themselves in me, and sought my acquaintance, in consequence of perusing those letters." As one example of the strong interest which they excited, it may be mentioned that a present of three hundred pounds was sent to

* It may afford a further illustration of the fact adverted to in a preceding note, to observe, that, in the narrative quoted above, Mrs. Grant says that her son was sentenced on the ground, that, being a sentinel, the night of the mutiny, he did not fire on his companions; while in a letter to Mr. Hatsell (Memoirs and Correspondence, Vol. I., p. 71) she gives this account: "He was made the unfortunate depositary of a foolish and desperate combination. . . . . He took no active part; but, on being examined, refused to give up the names of the rest; accounting such disclosure dishonorable. His size and manly appearance led the Court to consider him a ringleader; and as such, he was (I am told, unjustly) sentenced."

her by three merchants of London, (Mr. Angerstein, Mr. Thompson, and Mr. Bonar,) with whom she appears to have had no previous acquaintance. When the profits of her work began to come in, which, for the second edition, amounted to another three hundred pounds, she says, "I calculate and wonder at my own wealth."

On the last day of the year in which they appeared, she thus wrote to her old friend, Mrs. Smith:

"Do not in the least fear for my head, in consequence of the success of the Letters. In the first place, the only kind of pride I ever cherished was like those weeds which grow in a poor soil, and disappear when it is ameliorated. It served no other purpose but to fence in a kind of humble dignity. I valued myself just as highly when I was treated by many insignificant people with contemptuous indifference, as now that it is the fashion of the hour for people, every way my superiors, to overrate me. I very well know, too, that the peculiarity of the subject, the lively, because true, delineation of scenes to which the world, particularly the English world, is a stranger, has excited attention fully more than the merits of the performance. Johnson, who all along hated and despised pastorals, — being a kind of writing from which learning, philosophy, and cookery were equally excluded, and in which people were neither witty nor wise, sententious nor categorical, — he, I say, used to excuse his contempt for this way of writing, because, he said, we should never see a pastoral written by a real shepherd; and modes of life drawn from conjecture did not suit his rectitude of taste. But here is a pastoral written by a real shepherd; here are simple manners and rural life, — humble, though not mean, — simple, though not vulgar, — truly drawn. Truth of sentiment is a hidden, but powerful charm; the heart and imagination are detained by it, as the reasoning faculties are gratified by moral truth or mathematical demonstration. I am getting into too deep water now." — *Memoir and Correspondence*, Vol. I., pp. 89, 90.

There is no vanity in this; and she seems never to have been betrayed into any exhibition of it by the great success of her work.

Gratified she must have been; but a very different scene was about to open upon her. Her life was one of great vicissitude. In the spring after the letter was written from which we have just quoted, she was summoned to London to attend the death-bed of her daughter Charlotte, whom she

lost at the age of seventeen. She returned to Scotland to find her second daughter, Catharine, dangerously ill ; and after an interval of three months, this young lady followed her sister, dying in her twenty-fifth year.

"I had lost children before," says Mrs. Grant, "but I was not then their *only* parent." She thus wrote to her friend, Mrs. Hook :

"What is there valued and admired, what is there truly valuable or admirable, that I have not lost ! — youth, beauty, innocence, understanding, affection, such as few hearts are capable of conceiving, of which I was the first and darling object. To be thus beloved by creatures so lovely and so excellent, — this, indeed, is a privation. But they love me still ; I am conscious that they do." — *Memoir and Correspondence*, Vol. I., p. 126.

But though Mrs. Grant felt deeply and truly, and kept sacred in her heart the memory of those she loved, there was, happily for herself and for others, an extraordinary elasticity and resilience in her spirits. Proofs of this soon begin to show themselves in her letters ; and about a month after the death of her daughter Catharine, it appears from a letter full of affectionate remembrances of her, that she was about to commence writing her "Memoirs of an American Lady." It was published the next year, 1808.

The American lady was Mrs. Schuyler, the friend of her youth. But Mrs. Grant's recollections of her do not constitute the greater part of the work. It consists, besides these, of her own autobiography till the time of her leaving America ; of sketches of the history of New York ; of accounts of the manners of the descendants of the Dutch settlers at Albany and in its neighbourhood ; of anecdotes of the Indians ; and of stories respecting private individuals. What did not fall within her personal experience as a child, she appears to have learned from the oral narratives and conversation of Mrs. Schuyler and other individuals, without correction from books, or from any subsequent inquiry. On the basis of her very youthful recollections, affected, without doubt, by the imaginations and prejudices of after years, she constructed this work at the age of fifty-two. It is not without interest, as may appear from the references which we have made to it; but no one will suppose that it can make

much pretension to accuracy; though, even in this respect, it might not be quite fair to judge of it from the first sentence of the first chapter: "It is well known, that *the province of New York*, anciently called Munhattoes by the Indians," (Mrs. Grant refers to the Indian name of the island on which the city of New York now stands,) "was originally settled by a Dutch colony, which came from Holland, *I think, in the time of Charles the Second.*" Mrs. Grant says of herself in one of her earlier letters, "I am a wretched narrator, and miserable chronologer; I write fluently from my heart; but very lamely from my memory." We cannot assent to the first assertion, "I am a wretched narrator," so far as regards events in which she was personally interested.

In the year following the publication of these Memoirs, (1809,) an event occurred highly gratifying to Mrs. Grant. A gentleman, now one of the most honored clergymen of our country, who had then just completed his theological studies at Edinburgh, brought, on his return home, a copy of her "Letters from the Mountains." It passed into the hands of his sister, whose memory, after a lapse of more than thirty years, is still cherished with affectionate veneration by her surviving friends. She possessed a kindred mind to Mrs. Grant's, and was strongly interested in her book and in her fortunes. She communicated her interest to a circle of her friends. The book, through their exertions, was republished by subscription, at a time when the republication of a foreign work in this country was far less common than at present; and two hundred pounds were remitted to her as the proceeds. A correspondence immediately commenced between the lady, Miss Lowell, who was the principal agent in this good work, and Mrs. Grant, which continued during a short interval of not two years which intervened before Miss Lowell's death.

It may be easily imagined how much Mrs. Grant, with her warm and grateful feelings, was affected by this unexpected act of kindness, and this expression of sympathy from a country, then much more separated from England than it is at present. The impression that it made on her partly appears from the fact, that in a very short autobiographical notice which she communicated to a publication in England, consisting, with the exception of a single line, of only two

paragraphs, one of these paragraphs is devoted to the mention of it. She says :

" Among the many singular events, by which a quiet, secluded life has been diversified, one of the most remarkable was the benevolence and warmth of friendship, which prompted an American lady, of distinguished worth and talents, to make a very uncommon exertion in behalf of the subject of this Memoir. Meeting accidentally with the " Letters from the Mountains," this ardent and superior mind, not satisfied with warm approbation, and the elegant expression of these feelings to the author, actually, with the assistance of some friends, reprinted the work at Boston, (New England,) and remitted the profits to the author. This lady, now beyond the reach of human praise, closed an exemplary life amidst her fondly attached friends and relations in 1811. She was daughter to the late eminent Judge Lowell, of New England." *

In a letter to a lady, who, after the death of Miss Lowell, became the medium of communication between Mrs. Grant and her American friends, she says: " The attraction which the pictures of my mind had for that pure spirit now released, I consider as the pride and honor of my life. Of the many consolations which it pleased the Divine Goodness to pour into my cup of affliction I felt none so sensibly."

Her " Memoirs of an American Lady " came to a second edition in London in 1809, and was reprinted the same year by a bookseller at New York, in consequence, doubtless, of the popularity of her " Letters from the Mountains." Near the end of this book, there are two chapters of " General Reflections," in which, and in other passages, Mrs. Grant gives a most disastrous picture of the moral, intellectual, and social state of this country. This led to a remonstrance in a letter from her friend, Miss Lowell. Nothing could be written more becoming a lady. Though decided in its tone, it is most gentle and kind. How Mrs. Grant was affected by it may appear from some passages in her reply. She begins her letter thus ; — we omit some of the stronger expressions of regret:

" How shall I address, with language expressive of my feelings, a person, who fills my whole heart with mingled sensations of respect and gratitude, sympathy, tenderness, and remorse, to which no language could do justice ? This day I received that letter which I shall ever preserve with veneration, as a hallowed

* The British Gallery of Contemporary Portraits, No. XX., 1815.

relic of an unequalled mind. This night I will not sleep till I disburden my overcharged heart by acknowledging it. How cruel, dear Madam, is your candor, how wounding your mildness! . . . . . Had you urged on me the presumption of obtruding on the public as a picture of what *is* a confused and imperfect recollection of what *was*, aggravated by the only accounts I have for many years heard from that country, from exasperated and heart-broken emigrants, or half-pay officers, who had only seen it burning and bleeding with the flames and wounds of civil discord; had you said all that severe truth could suggest on this, to me, most painful subject, I might have been tempted to say much in my own vindication. Still I must say that I did not advance any thing but what I was convinced at the time was true, though I omitted acquiring that information, which I ought sedulously to have sought after, before I had committed myself or risked giving wrong impressions to others."

The connection between Miss Lowell and Mrs. Grant extended to other members of the family of the former lady. Her nephew, Mr. John Lowell, Jr., so well known for the splendid bequest by which he founded the Lowell Lectures in Boston, resided, when a youth, for some years, in Edinburgh with his parents. "He retained to the last an affectionate recollection of the friendships formed by him at this early period; and during his travels in the East, toward the close of his life, he gave the most substantial and munificent proofs of the strength of the attachments of his childhood."* During his residence in Edinburgh, he was for a time in Mrs. Grant's family. "He always," to use the words of a near relative, "entertained for her the deepest veneration and affection, and left her by his will a legacy of five thousand dollars."†

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* "Memoir of John Lowell, Jr.," by Mr. Everett.

† We quote these words from a note, with which we were favored in answer to an inquiry on the subject. Circumstances, which have come to our knowledge since this sheet was in print, render it proper to mention, that no communications respecting Miss Lowell's friendship for Mrs Grant have been furnished us by her surviving relatives. Their very great delicacy has, as we have learned, prevented any more explicit notice of the subject, than what appears, from being given in Mrs. Grant's posthumous "Memoir and Correspondence." But we have related nothing which is not well known to many persons in the society about us; or which, with a very slight clew, may not be gathered from Mrs. Grant's published writings. The copies of Mrs. Grant's letters to Miss Lowell were obligingly put into our hands by a friend, not a relative, of the latter, without any restriction upon such use as we have made of them; so also were copies of Miss Lowell's letters to Mrs. Grant. All that we have related, or that could be re-

In 1810, Mrs. Grant removed to Edinburgh, which continued to be her residence during the remainder of her life. In 1811, she published her "Essays on the Superstitions of the Highlands of Scotland, with Translations from the Gaelic." The book is full of enthusiasm for the character of the Highlanders, among whom she had so long resided; and this enthusiasm was evidently a principal motive to its composition. In her last letter to Miss Lowell, (not received till after that lady's death,) she speaks, in reference to this intended publication, of the great reluctance which she had always felt to undergo the ordeal of the press. "I shall submit to it once more," she adds, "because I have some things to tell the public that few know so well as myself, because few have attended to them so much." "The subject," she writes in a letter to Miss C. M. Fanshawe, "affords much latitude for excursion, which you may believe I have not used sparingly."

The book contains facts worth preservation, and narratives well told, which are entertaining and curious. But the general speculations concerning the character of the Highlanders are not of equal value. The liberty of excursion has been used freely, and the work is not well digested. The author says, in one of a series of letters annexed to it: "The great desideratum with me, in thought, word, and deed, is method." Her talents, indeed, did not lie in writing for the public. For this she wanted literary training; she wanted the requisite habits of mind, and especially the power of regarding herself as an individual personally unknown, addressing readers personally unknown to herself. Her strong good sense, her correct taste, her warm and disinterested feelings, her imagination, and her power of describing clearly and truly scenes and characters, appear to advantage only when she is pouring out her mind to her private friends. The public was probably never more out of the view of one who was so much before it. Though, if she had thought at all on the subject, she must have known that the letters which form the collection just published might very probably appear after her death, they exhibit no traces of such a thought having dwelt upon her mind. She says, in a very long unpublished letter now lying before us: "I see what I

lated, is highly honorable to both parties; and perhaps Miss Lowell's name should no longer be considered by any of her friends as too sacred for the praise of a stranger.

have written is all marked with the vehemence of strong emotion, carrying me rapidly along and producing endless repetition and inaccuracy. If I had time I would write it over again ; but that is impossible ; therefore you must spell and guess, and be very indulgent." That her literary education was irregular and defective may appear from what has been already mentioned. In a letter to Miss C. M. Fanshawe, (dated 1st April, 1809,) she says :

"I am delighted with the pleasantry of your observations upon my defective orthography, — which can be the less excused, as it is a thing to be learned merely by a common degree of observation. But do you know that the first unshackled letter of my very own diction that I wrote in my life was that which begins the series of my printed correspondence; — this I have beside me, written in the most childish and unformed hand imaginable. I was taught to write, when a girl, in America, by a soldier in my father's regiment, who began life in the character of a gentleman, but, being an incorrigible sot, retained nothing but a fine hand to distinguish him from his fellows when he was chosen my teacher ; — this tutor of mine visited the black hole so often, that I got copies, — perhaps twenty, — at long intervals; when he was removed into another regiment. I was thus deprived of all instruction of this and of almost every other kind ; but then it was intended to send me to a convent in Canada, where officers' daughters got some sort of superficial education. This was deferred from year to year, and then dropped, because we thought of coming home, where I was to learn every thing ; but, by that time, I was grown very tall, very awkward, and so sensitive that a look disconcerted me, and I went to no school except that where dancing was taught, which I very soon left from the same miserable conscious awkwardness." — *Memoir and Correspondence*, Vol. I. pp. 210, 211.

Her letters, in the posthumous collection of them, may not seem fully to justify the remarks which have been made. But these letters have been, as we doubt not, subjected to that revision, which it is the duty of an editor to apply to the posthumous works of a friend. They have been improved by omissions and condensation. We infer this not merely from the difference in the mode of writing observable between them and her former printed works, but likewise from a comparison of them with the series of unpublished letters lying before us, extending from 1809 to 1821 ; and more particularly from comparing one which is published

(To a Friend in America, May 22, 1816) with a manuscript copy of it. While, therefore, Mrs. Grant's posthumous letters give, as there can be no question, a faithful view of her intellect and heart, they do not exactly represent her style of writing.

At Edinburgh, Mrs. Grant was early associated with that brilliant literary society which then cast its splendor over the city. "Mr. Henry Mackenzie," she says, "is one of our nearest neighbours." "Walter Scott and the formidable Jeffrey have both called on me, not by any means as a scribbling female, but on account of links formed by mutual friends." Her "Letters from the Mountains" had to overcome the disadvantage, that she introduced us to persons in whom we had before felt no interest, and with whom she often made us but very imperfectly acquainted. The last collection of her letters is full of descriptions, anecdotes, and passages, relating to individuals of whom every one has heard; and, in bringing them before us, she writes with great vivacity, and evident marks of truth. Her good sense and her right and kind feelings are everywhere apparent.

In a letter written very shortly after fixing her residence in Edinburgh, she says:

"Conversation in this Northern Athens is easy, animated, and, indeed, full of spirit and intelligence. Yet, though the feast of reason abounds, there is not so much of the flow of soul. . . . . There are syllogisms and epigrams, and now and then pointed and brilliant sentences, and observations and reflections both acute and profound, but neither the heart nor imagination are much concerned. In those enlightened circles, there is much intelligence, and a degree of metaphysical subtilty in argument and disquisition, but little playfulness and less heart. People are too well bred, too well informed, and too well amused by the passing scene, to seek those resources in their imaginations, or to be hurried by those feelings, which occupy and delight the simple children of nature. By simplicity I do not mean ignorance, but being unspotted by the world. At the same time, I am greatly amused by these parties, and find them incomparably superior to the dull unvaried gossip of a country town; for here there is no detraction, and little personality." — *Memoir and Correspondence*, Vol. I. pp. 256, 257.

The assertion may seem strange, but we cannot help doubting whether such highly intellectual society is well adapted to discipline the higher powers of intellect, to strengthen the noblest principles, or to call forth the more

generous affections. When the ambition to excel in such society takes strong hold of the mind, every thing is referred to a worldly standard. The lover of display in conversation must accommodate himself to the comprehensions and tastes of his audience. The laugh at generous sentiment, or natural feeling, or disinterested endeavour, will often be better relished than sympathy with it. A sarcasm is more piquant than approbation. All those feelings that relate to the higher interests of man, all those virtues which the world considers as humble, though God does not, all the more difficult virtues, that have their origin in the hard sufferings of life, all those high efforts in the cause of humanity, which demand sacrifices from him who would serve his fellow-men, or may cause him to exhort others to make sacrifices, are to be kept out of view, as affording no topics of entertainment. The mention of them with any earnest and heart-felt praise would be almost as strange as if it occurred in the correspondence of Horace Walpole. Truth is far more likely to be sacrificed to wit, or to be lost sight of in the ardor of debate, than to secure a victory by the gladiatorial skill of accomplished conversers. A side may be taken, and maintained with the subtilty and eloquence of an accomplished advocate; but a subject will hardly be discussed with the wisdom of a philosopher. That conversational intercourse is, we imagine, more agreeable to an unperverted taste, and more improving, in which there is greater repose; in which more of the natural character appears, and thoughts and feelings flow forth unstudied and without effort; which rises to high or falls to humble subjects, as occasion varies; which takes a wider view of the realities of life, and keeps our sympathies alive to all that should interest them; and in which truth is sought for in companionship, and not in a combat with others. In such society as she has described, it was scarcely to be expected that Mrs. Grant's worth, and especially her intellectual powers, should be estimated at their true value. It somewhat resembled "the broad unnatural light" into which Thalaba entered,

> "That made the rose's blush of beauty pale,
> And dimmed the rich geranium's purple blaze";

and the wild flowers, however beautiful, which alone Mrs. Grant had yet collected and bound together, were not likely to attract particular notice and praise.

Yet the excellence of her character, and her widely

spread celebrity, secured her respect and kindness. Jeffrey became her friend; and, in 1811, published a review of her writings. She relates in one of her letters, that, before its publication, he put it into her hands, expressing an opinion that he could "depend on her magnanimity"; and saying, that, as a reviewer, he considered himself "as entering the temple of truth and bound to say what he thought." The review is considerate, and was meant to be obliging; but at the same time contains passages that would have given offence to one whose self-love was very sensitive. It produced, however, no ill-will on the part of Mrs. Grant. She tells her correspondent, in the letter in which it is mentioned, that Mr. Jeffrey, being about to journey into the Highlands, came to ask her for letters to her Highland friends. The only little trait of sub-acid feeling in Mrs. Grant breaks out on the occasion of this journey, in one of those touches of wit which are common in her letters: "He came back perfectly delighted. I expected that, from the mere habit of carping, he would have criticized the mountains unmercifully."

There is not much to object to the fairness of Jeffrey's criticism, so far as it goes; but perhaps there is some ground to complain of omission. It may illustrate the remarks before made in reference to the literary society of Edinburgh, that the reviewer does not bring into view what seems to us the peculiar characteristic of the "Letters from the Mountains," on which their essential value depends. Whatever may be their literary deficiencies, they are a true picture of life, as life is to all but the highest and lowest classes in such an artificial state of society as exists in England. They exhibit its joys, its sorrows, its changes, and its diversities of character,— the realities, and not the outward show, of man's being in this world,— with such a constant, unaffected expression of the correct feelings and principles of the writer, as may make them, especially to the young, a very interesting and instructive moral lesson. We do not know any other series of letters of a similar kind. After a quotation from one of her letters, the review concludes thus:

"This, to be sure, is not exactly the style of Madame du Deffand; and yet there are very many people who will like it quite as well. And even those who would be most scandalized at the comparison must confess, that it indicates a far loftier, a far purer, and a far happier character, than that of the witty lady with whose it may be contrasted." — *Edinburgh Review*, Vol. XVIII., p. 510.

A book which exhibits such a character must be of more than common value; and should any one prefer the letters of Madame du Deffand to those of Mrs. Grant, he might lay himself open to the suspicion of resembling in his taste the French lady who did not like innocent pleasures. But even in those qualities of mind by which Madame du Deffand was distinguished, we doubt whether Mrs. Grant was naturally her inferior. We may find many things in her letters as quaintly and as wisely said as the following, of which we will venture to alter the construction a little, without any change of the essential expression. She is exhorting a young female friend to serious reflection.

"It is, too, a melancholy truth, very little thought of during the triumph of youth and beauty, that young women are the sole material of which old women are made."*

Horace Walpole has written few sentences with more point than a passage, in which Mrs. Grant says, speaking of one of Scott's novels, the "Fortunes of Nigel":

"I had a letter informing me that in England it is accounted a failure. Honest John Bull has not seen such a failure on his side of the Tweed since Shakspeare's time."

The Baron de Grimm never told a story better, or a story better worth telling, than two which Mrs. Grant has related in connection; one of a young man, very "handsome and fashionable," whom she did not know, who pressed across a room, seized her hand, and kissed it, "thirty years and upwards," she says, "after anybody had thought of kissing my hand," and expressed to her the feelings, which her poem, "The Highlanders," had awakened in him. The stranger she afterwards found was Colonel D'Este, son of the Duke of Sussex by his marriage with Lady Augusta Murray. She goes on:

"I must not omit an anecdote, better than my own, about kissing hands. A young lady from England, very ambitious of distinction, and thinking the outrageous admiration of genius was nearly as good as the possession of it, was presented to Sir Walter Scott, and had very nearly gone through the regular forms of swooning sensibility on the occasion. Being afterwards intro-

* The passage, as written by Mrs. Grant, stands thus: "There is a melancholy truth, too, very little thought of during the triumph of youth and beauty; it is the consideration of young women's being the sole material of which old women are made."

duced to Mr. Henry Mackenzie, she bore it better, but kissed his hand with admiring veneration. It is worth telling for the sake of Mr. Scott's comment. He said, 'Did you ever hear the like of that English lass, to faint at the sight of a cripple clerk of session, and kiss the dry, withered hand of an old tax-gatherer?'"* — *Memoir and Correspondence*, Vol. II. pp. 163, 164.

But the limits to which we ought to confine ourselves prevent us from quoting any more such characteristic specimens of the last collection of her letters. We wish to produce one of a very different kind. In addition to the very brief remarks which we have already made on those letters, we would only observe, that no more entertaining and instructive contribution toward literary history has for a long time been given to the public.

Beside the accident that has been before mentioned, which produced permanent lameness, and the grant of a pension of a hundred pounds in the year 1826, no important events varied Mrs. Grant's life or circumstances during the interval of twenty-eight years between her removal to Edinburgh and her death in 1838, in the eighty-fourth year of her age, — except from the affliction which continually followed her, the loss of her children. She has recorded in her correspondence during the interval the deaths of four daughters, and of her son, Duncan. The manner in which she has spoken of them may "teach more"

"Than high philosophy can preach."

It would be doing great injustice to her character not to bring into view the strength and elevation of mind with which she bore her sorrows, and the deep religious faith with which she regarded them as the dispensations of the God of mercy. We might quote much, but we shall confine ourselves to some extracts from a letter written after the death of her daughter, Anne, to a friend, (Mrs. Rucker,) with whom another daughter, Mary, was then residing. It begins thus:

"Be comforted, my dear friends, — I speak to you and Mary, — she is not dead but sleepeth, — she is most assuredly entered into that blessed rest for which her pure and humble soul

* Mr. Mackenzie held the office of Comptroller of Taxes for Scotland.

was so well prepared. Do not mourn for one who was not like the children of this world, and whose faith was made perfect through suffering, — long and bitter suffering. Of that I did not tell either of you when it would not avail; it would have made you most unhappy, and would not have saved her a single pang. My dear Mrs. Rucker, be thankful that you were the object of such fond and faithful love, as few in this world have to give, to such a spotless mind and purified soul as this that has now soared to its proper sphere. At six o'clock yesterday evening, or a little after it, she fell sweetly asleep; and though wasted to a shadow — even that shadow looks in death serenely beautiful — her forehead and eyebrows are finer than any thing I ever saw. What a heavenly treasure she has been to me! Whatever vexed or harassed me, I always found a balm from her lips and a cordial in her eyes to soothe and cheer me; her last words were a fervid expression of the unequalled affection she bore me. You well know that I saw this cloud impending last spring, and labored to make up my mind to the deepest wound that could be inflicted on it; yet when it came nearer I could not endure to look at it, and fed myself with vain hopes. . . . . He who made her all pure and lovely as she was knew what was best for her, and after indulging her in more of innocent happiness than falls to the lot of most people in a long life, he has, through this fiery trial, brought her home safely to himself. — Good is the will of the Lord!

. . . . .

"Do not, my dear friends, mourn for the freed spirit that exults in its release from a painful prison. Thank God for me, that gave me a child whose presence was a blessing, and whose memory will hover round me like a vision of bliss, till, through the merits of my Saviour, I shall know as I am known. Could I forget her with a wish, I would not part with the dear image for this world's treasure: she indeed never gave her mother grief, but when she died, never intentionally offended, never hurt me with a cold look. My sun is fast declining, I have not many years to mourn. But why mourn for this blessed spirit! O, do not mourn, my dear friends: consecrate her memory; think cheerfully, speak easily of her. Adieu, dear friends, adieu." — *Memoir and Correspondence*, Vol. I. pp. 53–55.

No one can wish us to clothe in words the feelings with which every heart must be affected by this funeral hymn, so touching, so solemn, and so holy.

Here we conclude. We have succeeded but ill in these imperfect notices of Mrs. Grant, if we have not given the

impression of a woman of extraordinary good sense, and of uncommon powers of mind; whose letters, embracing a wide variety of subjects, are as truly valuable as those of any other writer, and likely to be of as permanent interest, and to afford as lasting gratification; but especially of a woman of great strength of character, formed by religious principle and penetrated by religious sentiment, the vital principle of whose moral being was faith in God and immortality, whose sympathies were warm and diffusive, and who was full of disinterested kindness.

ART. VI. — 1. *Leçon sur la Statique Chimique des Etres Organisés, Professée par* M. DUMAS, *pour la Clôture de son Cours à l'Ecole de Médecine.* Paris: Fortier, Masson, & Co. 1841. 8vo. pp. 48.

2. *The Chemical and Physiological Balance of Organic Nature; an Essay.* By J. DUMAS and J. B. BOUSSINGAULT, Members of the Institute of France. [An English Translation of the Third French Edition.] London: H. Bailliere. 1844. 12mo. pp. 156.

3. *Lectures on the Applications of Chemistry and Geology to Agriculture.* By JAMES F. W. JOHNSTON, F. R. S., etc. Edinburgh: Blackwood & Sons. 8vo. New York: Wiley & Putnam. 12mo.

4. *A Treatise on the Forces which produce the Organization of Plants; with an Appendix, containing several Memoirs on Capillary Attraction, Electricity, and the Chemical Action of Light.* By JOHN WILLIAM DRAPER, M. D., Professor of Chemistry in the University of New York. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1844. 4to. pp. 216.

We need not inform our readers, that the subjects with which these works are occupied have recently excited much attention and interest. Few strictly scientific treatises have been so generally read in this country as Professor Liebig's

volumes on chemistry, in its applications to vegetable and animal physiology. They have not only been repeatedly issued in rival editions by respectable publishers, but the two comely octavos have been transformed into a couple of almost illegible pamphlets, and widely scattered over the land in the form of "cheap literature." We are relieved, therefore, from the misgiving we might naturally feel at placing works with such uninviting scientific titles at the head of our article; and may, without hesitation, proceed to give some account of them.

Professor Dumas is at the head of the French school of organic chemistry. His eloquent discourse on the prominent features of the life of plants and animals, considered under a chemical point of view, was pronounced at the close of his annual course of lectures at the School of Medicine, in the spring of 1841, and it forms a spirited summary of the principles which he had very fully developed during that session, and in preceding years. To the second edition was appended a series of explanatory and historical documents; and these were increased in the third, of which the second work on our list is an English translation. A portion of the appendix, and of the researches upon which these striking generalizations are based, was furnished by the zealous fellow-laborer of Dumas, M. Boussingault, whose name is accordingly associated with his own upon the title-page.

Professor Johnston's volume consists of a full series of lectures, the greater part of which were actually addressed to an audience of practical agriculturists, the Farmers' Club of Durham, England; and we are free to say, that, for the amount of useful matter it comprises, and for just scientific views happily and plainly applied to practical use, the work is unrivalled. It embraces a wider field, and enters into more specific details, than the plan of Professor Liebig's works permitted; and is, therefore, more directly available to the cultivator of the soil, whose wants it was especially intended to supply. Although addressed not to men of science, but to farmers, it will bear the test of scientific criticism, as such a work should do, perhaps above all others. One should be a complete master of a science, in order safely to teach its applications to practice. No idea is more fallacious, than that those who know little of a science may yet be qualified to write elementary books for those who know nothing. Those who have but a pittance of scientific knowledge had

best "give God thanks, and make no boast of it; and as for their writing, let that appear when there is no need of such vanity."

Professor Draper's large and handsome quarto volume is a work of higher pretensions. It is addressed to the learned, and purports to contain important discoveries in the domain of science.

"The time has now arrived," he announces in his Preface, "when both vegetable and animal physiology *are to have* their foundations laid on chemistry and natural philosophy, the only basis which can elevate them from *their present deplorable position* to that of true sciences. It is with this impression, that the explanations which I have given in this book, of the mode by which light acts in determining organization, and of the mechanical causes by which such organized matter is transmitted from point to point of living systems, (for these are the leading facts which this work is designed to illustrate,) are offered to the attention of chemical philosophers."

The italics are our own. The preface bears the date of October 1, 1844. It is, of course, incumbent upon us to give our readers some general account of these discoveries. The problem which Dr. Draper has undertaken to investigate is a very interesting and fundamental one; and towards its elucidation much has already been done, and more may be expected from chemical and physical research. So imposing a volume of original researches demands our special attention. But as our author, writing much in the manner of a popular lecturer, and taking nothing for granted, although ostensibly addressing "chemical philosophers," seldom distinguishes between that which is to be deemed original, and that which mere sucklings in science might be supposed to know, it may be worth while, in the first place, to favor our unlearned readers with a sketch of those general conclusions, which the vegetable physiologists and chemists had already obtained. This we shall attempt to do, after our own fashion, taking the vegetable kingdom as our starting-point, and pursuing the course which, in our view, leads to the most natural and clear exposition of the general phenomena and results of vegetation, considered under a chemico-physiological aspect.

Of what, it may be asked, do plants essentially consist? Whence do they obtain the matter which enters into their

composition, — that is, their food? And what changes does the plant impress upon the materials it feeds on? The answer to these questions brings to view the reciprocal relations and influences of the mineral, vegetable, and animal kingdoms, and enables us to comprehend the office of plants in the general economy of the world.

The food and the elementary composition of plants stand in a necessary relation to each other. Since it is absurd to suppose that vegetables possess the power of creating any element, whatever they contain must have been derived from without. Their composition, therefore, indicates their food. If we have learned the chemical composition of a vegetable, and also what it gives back to the soil and the air, we know what it must have derived from without; that is, its food. Or, if we have ascertained what the plant takes from the soil and air, and what it returns to them, we have learned its chemical composition, — the difference between these two. And when we compare the nature and condition of the materials which the plant takes from the soil and the air with what it gives back to them, we may comprehend the influences of vegetation upon the mineral kingdom.

If we consider, then, the materials of which plants are composed, we shall learn what their food must necessarily contain. These materials are of two kinds; the difference between which may readily be made apparent. Every one knows that water, that universal solvent, as it percolates the soil, dissolves a portion of the various earthy matters it meets with. These, being drawn into the plant with the water which the roots imbibe, are at length deposited either in the wood or the leaves, from which the greater part of the water at length escapes by evaporation; they form the ashes which are left on burning a leaf or a piece of wood. Now, although it is true, that these earthy or mineral matters are often turned to account by the plant, and although some of them are necessary in the formation of certain products of certain plants, — as, the flinty matter which gives needful firmness to the stalks of wheat, and the phosphate of magnesia, the iron, &c., which always exist in the grain, — yet none of them are essential to simple vegetation, which may, and often does, proceed as well without them. These materials, whose presence is in some sort accidental, may be called the *earthy*, *mineral*, or *inorganic* constituents of plants.

But if we analyze the newly formed tissue of plants, or any vegetable substance, such as a piece of wood, after this incrusting mineral matter has been chemically removed, we find it invariably composed of either three or four elements; elements which are indispensable to vegetation, and which make up, at least, from eighty-eight to ninety-nine *per cent.* of every vegetable substance. These are the *universal, organic* constituents of plants.

These we now consider, leaving the mineral materials entirely out of view for the present. The four essential organic elements of plants are *carbon, hydrogen, oxygen,* and *nitrogen.* The proper vegetable structure, that is, the substance of the cells and vessels, uniformly consists of only three of these simple elements, namely, *carbon, hydrogen,* and *oxygen.* These are absolutely essential and universal; while the fourth, *nitrogen,* though perhaps always present, is only requisite in the formation of certain very important products.

These four elements must be furnished by the food upon which the vegetable lives; they must be drawn from the soil or the air. Since the leaves, as ordinarily situated, can imbibe air or vapor only, and the hygrometric tissue of the rootlets is specially adapted to the absorption of liquids, refusing admission to solid particles, the food of the plant must be received in the gaseous or liquid form, chiefly in the latter. But in whatever form imbibed, the great vehicle of the plant's nourishment is evidently *water,* which as a liquid bathes its roots, and in the state of vapor continually surrounds its leaves. The question, therefore, naturally arises, Is water itself the food of plants?

Water is composed of oxygen and hydrogen. It may, therefore, furnish two of the plant's essential elements. It must furnish the principal part of the hydrogen; for this element does not exist, in a separate state, either in the soil or in the air, nor in any form, (with an exception that may be left out of the general view,) unless as one of the components of water. And reasons, which will hereafter become apparent, also show that nearly all the oxygen which actually enters into the composition of the plant must be derived from the water which it so freely imbibes.

But water can never furnish what it does not itself contain. It has no carbon in its composition, no nitrogen.

Therefore, *pure water*, though indispensable, is insufficient for the nourishment of plants. Yet if the water, which so copiously filtrates through the leafy plant, actually contains even a minute quantity of the two remaining ingredients, carbon and nitrogen, in such a form that they may be detained in the plant when the superfluous water is exhaled, abundant provision for the food of the vegetable would thereby be afforded ; for, however diluted, the plant may condense and accumulate it to the requisite extent, just as the extremely minute portion of earthy matter, which the water holds, accumulates in the leaves and wood. The question, then, recurs in this form : Does the water, which the plant actually imbibes, contain a quantity of these remaining elements ? Though pure water cannot, yet may not rain-water furnish the needful carbon and nitrogen ?

Nearly seventy-nine *per cent.* of the atmosphere consists of nitrogen gas, in an uncombined state ; that is, merely mingled with oxygen. Now, as this gas is to a certain extent absorbed by water, every rain-drop that falls through the air must bring with it a minute portion of nitrogen ; and this is necessarily imbibed with the water which the roots take in. Accordingly, free nitrogen gas is always found in growing plants. There is, besides, a compound of nitrogen, which is always formed when any animal, and almost any vegetable, substance decays, and which is found to be especially adapted to the nourishment of plants, namely, *ammonia*, or *hartshorn*, — a compound of hydrogen and nitrogen. We know that ammonia exists in the air, though in quantities so minute as to be inappreciable to our senses ; since, being very volatile, it must continually rise from decaying animal and vegetable substances. We readily apprehend why it does not accumulate, in the progress of time, so as to become perceptible ; for it is extremely soluble in water, as well as all its compounds, and is therefore greedily absorbed by aqueous vapor, and thus washed out of the atmosphere, as it were, and brought down to the surface by rain. The chemists can accordingly detect its presence in all rain-water. In this form, as ammonia and its volatile compounds, nitrogen must continually be presented to the roots of plants. That the roots actually absorb it may be inferred from the familiar fact, that plants grow most luxuriantly when the soil is supplied with those substances which yield much ammonia,

such as most manures. And finally, ammonia, as such, may be detected in the juices of almost all plants.

Rain-water, therefore, contains the third element of vegetation, *nitrogen*, — drawn from the air, both in a separate form, and in that of ammonia. But what is the source of the remaining constituent, *carbon*, of which plants must have a copious supply, since it forms by far the largest portion of their bulk? If we obtain the carbon of a leaf or a piece of wood, separate from the other organic elements, — which is done by charring, that is, by heating it out of contact with the air, so as to drive off the oxygen, hydrogen, and nitrogen, — although we necessarily lose a part of the carbon in the operation, yet what is left perfectly preserves the shape and bulk of the original material, even of its most delicate cells and vessels. From forty to sixty *per cent.*, by weight, of the original body remains in the form of carbon or charcoal.

Now, all the other elements of plants are gases in their natural state, actually existing in the air, from which they are drawn and presented to the roots in the form of rain-water; while carbon is a solid, absolutely insoluble in water. In what form can it be employed by the plant, which imbibes fluids only? The chief, if not the only, form in which a fluid compound of carbon is naturally presented to the plant is that of *carbonic acid gas;* which consists of carbon and oxygen. This gas makes up, on an average, one two-thousandth of the bulk of the atmosphere; from which it may be directly absorbed by the leaves. But it is freely soluble in water, up to a given extent, and so must be carried down by the rain, and imbibed by the roots. The carbonic acid of the atmosphere is clearly the great source of carbon for vegetation.

The mineral world is made up of a large number of elementary bodies, and their compounds are multiplied almost to infinity; but only three or four of these are concerned in the general phenomena of vegetation. The air, water, and carbonic acid are the few materials upon which organic nature universally operates. The atmosphere that surrounds us — considering water in the state of vapor to form a component part of it — contains all the essential elements of plants, and contains them in the best, if not the only available, form; namely, in a fluid state. It furnishes water, which

is not only food itself, but is the vehicle of the others; as it brings to the roots what it has gathered from the air, that is, the needful supply of nitrogen, (either separately or in the form of ammonia,) and of carbon in the form of carbonic acid.

It is worthy of particular notice, that the whole *proper food* of plants — the water, the nitrogen, and the carbonic acid — *may be* absorbed by the leaves directly from the air, in the state of gas or vapor. That certain plants may derive adequate sustenance in this manner is evident from such cases as that of the common Orpine, or Live-for-Ever of the gardens, — a branch of which, thrust into a crevice, or pinned to a bare shaded wall, will usually live and grow for the whole season. That most plants actually take in a portion of their food in this way, or at least may be made to do so when all other supply is arrested, is well known to vegetable physiologists. And that one class of vegetables, the *Epiphytes*, or Air-plants, as they are appropriately called, must draw their whole sustenance directly from the air, is perfectly certain; for they have no connection with the soil. But leaving peculiar cases and subordinate arrangements out of view, it is plain, that the general office of leaves is to elaborate rather than to absorb nourishment. As a comprehensive statement, we may say, that plants, though they *derive their food from the air*, *receive it through their roots*. The aqueous vapor, condensed into rain, and bringing with it to the ground a portion of carbonic acid, and of nitrogen or ammonia, thus conveys the appropriate food of the plant to the rootlets. Absorbed by these, it is carried through the stem into the leaves, where the now superfluous water is restored to the atmosphere by exhalation; while the residue is converted, by a most refined chemistry, into the proper substance of the vegetable.

The water exhaled, laden in its circuit with a new supply of carbonic acid and nitrogen, may in time be again absorbed by the roots of plants, again exhaled, and thus follow its ceaseless round. This is beautifully illustrated by the cultivation of plants in close glazed cases, where they are made to flourish for a long time with a very limited supply of water, every particle of which, except the small portion actually decomposed by the plant, must have passed repeatedly through this circulation. This vegetable microcosm

truly exhibits the actual relations of water and air to vegetation in the great world. It is well known, that, if all the aqueous vapor which the atmosphere can hold at any one time were to fall at once in the form of rain, it would scarcely amount to five inches in depth over the whole surface of the globe. But certainly the atmosphere, taken altogether, never does contain half the quantity of water it is capable of holding; so that all the aqueous vapor which it actually holds at any one time would not amount to more than two inches of rain over the whole of the earth's surface.

Now, the actual fall of rain varies, in different latitudes, from 13 to 150 inches *per annum;* and the mean fall of rain over the whole earth is estimated at over thirty inches. Consequently, the water which falls in rain is, on an average, reëvaporated and rained down fifteen times in the course of a year. This is exclusive of the dew, by which the alternate evaporation and condensation is daily repeated on a smaller scale, and whose gentle action, though less striking, is scarcely less beneficial. For a simple physical law causes the dew to bestow its silent favors where they are most required, — upon the grass-plot and the cultivated field, — not upon the unrequiting rock, the naked sand, or the trodden highway, where there is no vegetation to nourish. Even rain, on a great scale, is distributed much in the same manner. It is denied to the arid desert, and most plenteously poured upon regions clothed with forest. Nor do we mistake the effect for the cause; for, once established, cause and effect are here reciprocal. "To him that *hath* shall be given."

An obvious consequence of this perpetual circulation of water is, that the atmosphere is repeatedly *washed* by the rain; and those vapors are washed out, which otherwise, by their accumulation, would ultimately prove injurious to animals; such, especially, as carbonic acid and ammonia, which are continually imparted to the air by animals, and so conveyed to the roots of plants, which they are especially adapted to nourish. Nor should it be overlooked, that the thunder-storm, as well as the gentle dew and the refreshing shower, works for good in the beneficent arrangements of the Creator. The flashes of lightning, that "dart from the storm-cloud and furrow vast fields of air," engender from aerial elements a quantity of the nitrate of ammonia, — the

most potent of manures, the most concentrated vegetable food, — which the rain immediately washes down to the soil.

It appears, then, that all the essential materials for vegetation are furnished by the atmosphere, and are brought to the plant in the most available form ; that plants actually derive their nourishment from this source ; and it might be shown, that all the constituents of vegetables (excepting the small earthy portion, that many species can do without) have, at some period, belonged to the atmosphere. Hence, vegetables may not improperly be considered as *formed out of air*, or as *so much solidified atmosphere !* They represent an amount of matter which the force of organization has withdrawn from the air, and confined for a time to the surface.

If this be true, as it certainly is, we might hastily infer, that the soil merely serves as a *foothold* to plants ; and that any given vegetable does in fact obtain all its nourishment directly from the atmosphere. The too unguarded statement of so distinguished a chemist as Professor Liebig seems to tend to this conclusion, and has been thus understood ; partly, as we think, from some misapprehension of his real meaning. Indeed, this view would appear to be fully borne out by such facts and considerations as the following.

Vegetation must have had a beginning. Science and sacred history equally point to a time, when no vegetable matter existed in the soil which overspread the earth's surface. The first plants *must* have grown without the aid of either vegetable or animal matter ; they *must* have derived their whole organic food directly from the air. Nor are we left to speculations which go back to the origin of vegetation. This process is often repeated on a small scale, even in our own times ; as when small volcanic islands are raised from the sea, and the bare inorganic soil is gradually clothed, first, perhaps, with humble lichens, then with mosses, ferns, and rushes, and at last with common herbage, shrubs, and trees, — forming, in time, a vast accumulation of vegetable matter, where none at first existed. So, likewise, after an eruption of molten lava or volcanic ashes from Etna, heated so as to destroy every vestige of organic matter that we can imagine to have existed therein, the soil thus produced is often covered with rich vegetation in less than a century.

In all these cases, no vegetable matter has been conveyed to these perfectly sterile mineral soils, except the minute portion contained in the seeds, &c., wafted thither by winds or waves. And yet a vast quantity has been produced, and is represented not only by the existing vegetation, but by the rich mould imparted to the soil by the decay of previous generations. What is the source of this vegetable matter? The necessary materials exist in the air. Plants possess the peculiar faculty of drawing them from the air. The air must have furnished the whole.

We may submit this view to the test of actual experiment, by causing any common seed of known weight — a garden bean, for example — to germinate, as it readily will, on pounded flints, watered with rain-water alone. When the plant has attained the fullest development of which it is capable under such circumstances, it will be found to weigh many times as much as the seed from which it sprang. It may be supposed to derive a portion of its weight from the flinty soil. Let its ashes, therefore, be deducted, and its carbon alone taken into the account. This element, which may have increased perhaps fifty or a hundred fold, can have been derived only from the carbonic acid brought to the plant by the rain-water and the air.

Many striking confirmations of this fact fall under the notice of the agriculturist. He well knows, that, when an impoverished soil is laid down to grass, the longer it remains in undisturbed vegetation, the richer in vegetable mould does the soil become. In our forests, also, a vast amount of vegetable matter is accumulated in the trunks of the trees. Do they draw this from a stock in the soil? How is it, then, that the vegetable mould in the soil increases with the age of the forest? As a whole, they must draw from the air not only the carbon which their trunks contain, but an additional quantity, which they impart to the soil, in the annual fall of leaves, &c.*

This point may be more strikingly presented by directing our attention to the case of a single tree. Let us take, for example, one of those gigantic Oregon Pines, which were noticed in a recent number of this Review, † — that tree

* These points are well stated by Professor Johnston, in his *Agricultural Chemistry*, Lect. IV., from which we have taken many of the foregoing illustrations.

† *North American Review*, Vol. LIX., p. 223.

whose prostrate trunk Douglas found to be two hundred and fifty feet in length, and tapering regularly from a base of fifty-eight feet in circumference. The solid contents of this trunk we may estimate, in round numbers, at 17,000 cubic feet. The weight of its wood, when seasoned, supposing it to have the specific gravity of our White Pine, — which it somewhat resembles,— would be 714,000 pounds. Of this, four pounds in every thousand must be allowed for the *ashes*, — the mineral constituents which have certainly been derived from the earth (2856 lbs.) ; leaving for its proper organic materials 711,144 pounds.

Taken as mere dry pine wood, half of this amount is carbon, namely, 355,572 pounds. But this tree abounds in turpentine and resin, — substances which contain a much greater proportion of carbon. We allow, to make round numbers, 428 pounds for the excess of carbon in this form. Disregarding the other elements, then, this tree has accumuluted 356,000 pounds, or 178 tons, of carbon or charcoal in its trunk. Whence has this large amount been derived ? From the ground ? A thousand years ago, when the seed germinated which has given rise to this giant tree, the soil of the limited space its roots occupy could not, certainly, have contained the millionth part of the carbon which is now stored up in its trunk. It *may* not have contained a particle ; for the Pine will thrive upon a sandy, sterile soil ; and these very trees, says Douglas, were actually growing " in nearly pure sand." In any given year, this tree must have returned to the soil, by its falling leaves and cones, quite as much as it took from it. Was it furnished with carbon from the falling leaves or decaying trunks of neighbouring trees and plants ? A portion, certainly, may have been so supplied, in any given case ; but this only removes the question a step further back. Besides, this tree stood in a forest of similar Pines, — many of them equally, and some still more gigantic and venerable, — all of which have been accumulating carbon for hundreds of years at the same rate. There can be but one answer to this question. The immense stock of carbon, not only of this tree, but of the whole forest, has been drawn from the air.

And in a similar manner we might show, that the whole amount of all the organic elements of all plants was originally derived from the air. But does it therefore follow,

that each and every plant actually draws all its food directly from the air? In certain cases, undoubtedly. The *Epiphytes*, or Air-plants, having no connection with the soil, live necessarily and directly on the atmosphere. So do those plants which first vegetate on volcanic earth, bare rocks, naked walls, or in pure sand. But we must particularly remark, that only a comparatively small number of plants will grow, or continue to live, under such circumstances; and, especially, none of the vegetables useful as food for man, or the higher animals, will thus thrive and come to maturity.

We have also seen, that the plants which do grow in this manner, as well as the undisturbed forest and grass land, deposit vegetable mould, and thus gradually make a soil rich in organized matter. Is this vegetable mould useless, and so left to escape, by slow decomposition, into the air from which it has been so laboriously withdrawn? Certainly not. Nature does not thus waste her strength, or relinquish the advantages she has gained over inorganic nature. The races of plants that may thus grow at the entire expense of the air gradually form a soil of vegetable mould during their life, which they increase in their decay; and their successors live more healthfully upon the inheritance, being supported partly upon what they industriously take from the air, and partly upon the ancestral accumulation of vegetable mould. In this way, each successive generation may enrich the soil; for, although drawing perhaps a large part of its nourishment from this store, yet it annually returns a portion by its dead leaves; and when it dies, it bequeaths to the soil not only all that it took from it, but all that it drew from the air.

It is in this manner, especially, that the humble lichens, mosses, ferns, and other plants which short-sighted man terms useless, play an essential part in the economy of nature. They *can* live directly upon the air. Their minute seeds, quite invisible to the naked eye, and in number far surpassing man's power of computation, — light almost as the air itself, — are widely scattered by the winds over mountain and plain, and lodged upon every naked rock, or stagnant pool, or tract of barren sand, where all they need is moisture to excite and maintain their growth. Some, like the lichens, require even little of this. They attach themselves to dry rocks, or plains of lava, which are washed only by

the occasional shower ; and here they make the earliest inroads upon barrenness. Not only do the accumulated remains of successive generations fill the crevices with fertile mould, and the water, which it holds like a sponge, by its freezing and thawing, aids in the disintegration of the rock ; but many of them create, from aërial elements, *oxalic acid*, a powerful solvent, which, as it is gradually set free, acts upon and excavates the stony surface to which the plant firmly adheres. Thus the dying lichen digs for itself in the solid rock a sepulchre, in which its dust may rest. Well did Linnæus, in his lively fancy, term the lichens *vernaculi*, or *bond-slaves*, chained, as it were, to the rocks which they labor to cover with soil for the benefit of others, though they derive from it no nourishment for themselves.

Next, certain tribes of mosses take possession of this scanty soil, and more rapidly increase its amount ; while others, of aquatic habits, convert shallow pools into quaking bogs, and create in time vast accumulations of vegetable matter in the form of peat. These are truly *servi*, as Linnæus termed them ; servants to the nobler plants which soon succeed them. For then come the ferns, (the *novaccolæ*, or colonists,) after lichens have furnished them a foothold upon the rock, or mosses given them one upon the spongy and unstable morass. And these are the precursors of grasses, rushes, and other plants of more immediate importance to man and the higher animals ; but which never would come to perfection, if left, like their humble but indispensable predecessors, to draw an unaided subsistence directly from the inorganic world. It is thus that the bare earth is at length enabled to support the sturdy forest, or the rich field of waving grain.

While it is strictly true, therefore, that all the organic elements, or the food of plants, have been originally derived from the air, it is not true, that what is contained in any given plant, in any one crop we raise, is directly drawn from the atmosphere alone. " A plant grows partly at the expense of the vegetable matter in the soil accumulated by preceding vegetables, and partly at that of the air. When it reaches maturity, or when winter arrives, it dies ; and of its decaying structure, a part is resolved into air, and returned to the atmosphere ; a part remains, and is incorporated with the soil. If that which remains be greater than

that which the growing plant derived from the soil, the vegetable mould in the soil increases ; if less, it will diminish." When vegetation is left to its natural course, there is ordinarily an accumulation. But in agriculture, the farmer removes his crop from the land ; and so takes away not only what the plants have received from the earth, but also what they have absorbed from the air ; and, consequently, he exhausts the land rapidly. Hence, he finds it necessary to follow the example of nature, and to restore to the soil, in the form of manure, an amount substantially equivalent to what he takes away ; in fact, to return to the soil every part of his crop that does not return to his pocket in the form of money.

To complete our view, we should now consider the earthy constituents of plants, which, although unessential to the general question, are very important in their agricultural relations. The principal conclusions of the chemical physiologists upon the subject seem to be these : first, that different vegetables take from the soil, or at least retain in their system, unequal proportions of earthy matter, — some more of one thing, some more of another ; and, secondly, that each species must obtain those earthy materials which form a constituent of its fruit, seed, &c. ; else it will not live a healthful life and come to maturity. We hasten to another part of our subject.

We have learned what the food of plants is, and whence they obtain it. Their universal food is rain-water, which has absorbed some carbonic acid, nitrogen, and ammonia or its compounds, from the air, or dissolved them from the decomposing remains of former vegetation already existing in the soil ; whence it has also dissolved a variable quantity of earthy matter. This liquid is imbibed by the roots, and carried upwards through the tissues of the stem. But it is still the raw material of growth, — crude sap, — mineral matter, — *of the earth, earthy*, — and as yet incapable of forming a part of the living structure. How does the plant turn it to account, and convert it into its own substance ?

For this purpose, the crude sap is carried into the leaves. The leaves and other green parts of plants (or, more strictly, the *chlorophylle*, or green matter they contain) constitute the apparatus of vegetable digestion. The agent, the motive power which puts this most curious chemical apparatus

into action, is *solar light*. This is the indispensable agent by which lifeless mineral matter — earth and air — is transformed into the organized substance of living plants, and consequently of animals. Such is the important part which light performs in vegetable digestion; that initial step in organized existence, upon which, as the first link in the chain, all the rest absolutely depends. Hence, the creative fiat, "Let there be light," was the immediate precursor, as it is the indispensable condition, of organized and animate existence.

Under the influence of light, this curious machinery is constructed, and the *chlorophylle* — the green matter of vegetation — is first developed. When plants vegetate in insufficient light, — as potatoes shoot in our cellars, — this green matter is not formed. When light is withdrawn, it is soon decomposed; as when celery is blanched by heaping the soil around its stems. Under the influence of the solar rays, an essential preliminary step in vegetable digestion is accomplished; namely, the concentration of the crude sap by the evaporation or exhalation from the leaves of the now superfluous water. This exhalation, its amount, its dependence upon sunshine, and its obvious consequences upon the rise of the sap, the early death of the leaf, and as explaining how the plant can draw sufficient nourishment from such excessively diluted food, we cannot here pause to consider. These are preparatory operations. We pass to the agency of light in that process in which the very essence of vegetation consists; namely, its action, in the leaf, upon the concentrated sap. Here light accomplishes two perfectly unparalleled results, both of the highest conceivable importance in the economy of nature.

These are, first, *the chemical decomposition of one or more of the substances in the sap which contain oxygen gas, and the liberation of this oxygen at the ordinary temperature of the air.* In certain cases, the chemist, in his laboratory, can set free oxygen gas from its compounds; but, for the most part, only with the aid of a heat equal to that of red-hot iron.

The second result has already been mentioned: *the actual conversion of this mineral, or inorganic, into organized matter*, — matter capable of forming, and which does form, the living tissue of all plants and animals.

These two great operations, though separately stated, to convey a clearer idea of the results, are carried on simultaneously, — are, in fact, but different aspects of one great operation. We contemplate the first, (the liberation of oxygen gas,) when we consider what the plant gives back to the air. We contemplate the second, when we inquire what the plant retains as the materials of its own growth. The concentrated sap is decomposed ; the portion which is not required in the plant's growth is returned to the air ; and at the same time, the remaining elements are rearranged so as to form new and peculiar products, — *organic* products. The principal material which is given up to the air, in this operation, is oxygen gas, that element of our atmosphere which alone renders it fit for the breathing and life of animals. That the foliage of plants in sunshine is continually yielding oxygen gas to the surrounding air has been familiarly known since the days of Senebier, Ingenhouz, and Priestley.

We shall not attempt to trace the history of this beautiful discovery, which any one may verify for himself, by exposing some freshly gathered leaves to the sunshine in an inverted glass vessel filled with water, so as to collect the bubbles of air which rise, and which, on examination, prove to be nearly pure oxygen gas. The evolution of this gas goes on while the sun shines, but immediately stops when a shadow is cast over the leaves, and is resumed when the screen is withdrawn, or when a gleam of reflected sunlight is cast upon the leaves from a mirror ; thus showing how entirely the whole depends upon sunshine. In nature's operations, diffused daylight answers the purpose ; but in our rude experiments, we cannot quite imitate the delicacy of her processes. What is the source of this oxygen gas, which is thus given out to the air just in proportion to the vigor of vegetation ?

To take the simplest and most general case, — suppose the plant is converting its inorganic food directly into the materials of its own growth, the very matter of which its fabric is constructed. This matter — the *lignin* of chemists, the material of wood and of the whole vegetable structure — is composed of carbon, oxygen, and hydrogen ; of which, the two latter exist in the same proportions as in the composition of water. As a convenient form of expression, it may therefore be said to consist of carbon and the elements

of water. These materials are, of course, furnished by the food upon which the plant lives. But this universal, all-essential food, we have seen, is carbonic acid and water. If these elements be decomposed, as we know they are, by the solar rays, and the carbonic acid merely relinquish its oxygen, we have left carbon and water, or the elements of water, the very composition of vegetable tissue. It can scarcely be doubted, then, that the oxygen gas, which is in such case given up to the air, comes from the carbonic acid which, as we have shown, the plant took from the air.

There is a beautiful mode of testing the correctness of this view. Since the air-plants, to which we have so often alluded, must necessarily imbibe directly from the air into their leaves all the carbonic acid they consume, it would naturally be inferred, that common plants take in, or may be made to take in, a part of their carbonic acid in the same way. Accordingly, small leafy plants, or handfuls of fresh foliage, have been exposed to the sun in glass vessels, while a current of carbonic acid is made slowly and repeatedly to pass over them. The leaves seize the carbonic acid with avidity, and give back oxygen gas in its place. It is clear, therefore, that the oxygen which is given to the air, in ordinary vegetable digestion, comes from the decomposition of carbonic acid. Plants take this latter gas from the air, directly or indirectly; they retain its carbon ; they restore to the air pure oxygen.

Next, let us suppose that the plant, instead of transforming its food immediately into new tissue, new branches and leaves, chooses to accumulate it for future use. In that case, it is first converted into gum or mucilage, and thus conveyed by the returning circulation to the place where the *depôt* is established, — perhaps in the root, like the turnip; or in subterranean portions of the stem, as in the potato; or even in the wood ; and there stored up in the form of starch. Now, it is remarkable, — it is, indeed, one of the most interesting discoveries of the present age, — that both gum and starch, which plants so largely create for their own future consumption, have exactly the same chemical composition as vegetable tissue itself; a composition like that represented by carbon and the elements of water. In their formation, likewise, the carbonic acid of the sap yields all its oxygen to the air.

Sometimes the digested food is accumulated in the more

soluble form of sugar, ready for rapid consumption in flowering; as in the stalk of the sugar-cane and maize, and the root of the beet. But sugar has the same chemical composition as starch and vegetable tissue, with the addition of another atom of water in the case of common or cane-sugar, and of three atoms in grape-sugar. Its formation, in all cases, gives the same amount of oxygen to the air. The conclusion becomes more and more evident, that, *by so much as plants grow*, they take carbonic acid from the air, retain its carbon, and restore its oxygen.

Since these general vegetable products are essentially identical in chemical composition, it is no longer such a special wonder, that they should be mutually convertible; that the plant, when it draws upon its accumulated stock, should so promptly change the form of the investment from starch into mucilage or sugar, or *vice versâ*, and finally into vegetable tissue. Even the chemist in his laboratory effects some of these transformations, though in one direction only. He can possibly change woody fibre into starch, and thus, as has been thought, make bread of wood; he can certainly change woody fibre into sugar, as well as starch into gum and into sugar. But he cannot reverse the spell, and convert sugar into starch, or either into wood, as the plant so readily does. And as to creating these or other organic products from their original elements, — carbonic acid and water, — that is the prerogative of the plant alone.

When the plant forms vegetable acids, a part only of the oxygen of the carbonic acid is restored to the air; when oils and resins are produced, which consist of carbon and hydrogen only, the oxygen of the water must also be evolved. In the formation of gluten, vegetable albumen, and all the important quaternary vegetable products, the nitrogen of the plant's food is an essential element; but oxygen gas is equally given to the atmosphere from the decomposition of carbonic acid.

As concerns the atmosphere, then, the principal result of vegetation appears to be the withdrawal of carbonic acid, and the restoration of its oxygen. This is the constant effect of vegetation, and the measure of its amount. It is probably true, indeed, that leaves decompose carbonic acid in the full light of day. There is no doubt, that, in the night, they sometimes give a quantity of carbonic acid to the air,

or even rob it of a little oxygen. But this by no means affects the general result, or requires any qualification of our broad statement. The work ceases merely when light is withdrawn. But whenever the exhalation of water from the leaves slowly continues in darkness, the carbonic acid which this water holds in solution necessarily flies off with it, — escapes undecomposed, during the necessary interruption to vegetation, into the atmosphere from which the plant took it ; just as the alcohol evaporates from the wick of a spirit-lamp after the light is extinguished. So much of the crude sap, or raw material, merely runs to waste.

But further ; we must bear in mind, that the decomposition of carbonic acid by light, in the leaves, is in direct opposition to the ordinary laws of chemical affinity ; in other words, that all organized matter is in a state of unstable equilibrium. When light is withdrawn, therefore, what wonder if common chemical forces should resume their sway, — the oxygen of the air combine with some of the newly deposited carbon, and again form a little carbonic acid; thus demolishing some portion of the rising vegetable structure which the setting sun left in an unfinished and unstable state. This always does take place, when a plant is kept in prolonged darkness ; and in a dead herb, at all times, chemical forces exert their power uncontrolled, and pull down the whole vegetable fabric, beginning with the all-important green matter, — as we observe in the blanching of celery, — and at length resolve the whole tissue into the carbonic acid and water of which it was made. All this must be placed to the account of *decomposing*, not of *growing*, vegetation ; and, therefore, does not affect the general result, that, by so much as plants vegetate, they decompose carbonic acid and give its oxygen to the air; in other words, they purify the air.

We may not only show, that this contrary action of vegetation during the night is incidental, but we may deny its universal occurrence. In repeating the old experiments with due precautions, and with the advantage of improved means of research, one of the most acute analytical chemists of the age found, that the plants he employed, while in full health, gave no carbonic acid to the air during the night, and consumed no oxygen.* This anomaly, which has so long

* Pepys, in Phil. Trans., 1843, p. 329.

been taken for granted, and so greatly misunderstood, — having even been dignified with the name of the true respiration of plants, — has no existence as a general phenomenon. Plants deteriorate the air only in their decay, and in certain special operations to which we may presently allude.

Let us first obtain some general notion of the amount of the influence of vegetation, as such, upon the air we breathe. For every six pounds of carbon which plants have accumulated in their structure, they have withdrawn from the atmosphere twenty-two pounds of baleful carbonic acid gas, and replaced it with sixteen pounds — an equal bulk — of life-sustaining oxygen. Consider the quantity extant merely in the trunks of trees. The trunk of the single giant Pine already mentioned contains 356,000 pounds of carbon, — a quantity sufficient to propel on our railroads 200 tons of merchandise a distance of 3,560 miles! In its growth, this tree withdrew from the air 1,305,333 pounds of carbonic acid gas, and replaced it with 949,333 pounds of oxygen gas; a quantity sufficient to maintain the respiration of a single man for 1,110 years. It is, perhaps, worth noticing, that the age of this great tree has been somewhat roughly estimated at 1,100 years;* so that, year by year, it has supplied oxygen to the air just at the rate at which a single man would consume it. Add to the quantity of carbon gathered by this one tree all that is contained in the forests and herbage of the world, — all that has accumulated in the soil as vegetable mould, peat, and in other forms, — all that is locked up in the vast deposits of coal, the product of the vegetation of by-gone ages, — and, finally, let the estimate embrace all that belongs to the bodies of the whole existing animal kingdom, — and we shall have the expression, if it can be made in figures, of the amount of a single, though the largest, element which vegetation has withdrawn from the atmosphere. If we multiply the vast amount of carbon by sixteen, and divide it by six, we obtain the number of pounds of oxygen gas that have, in this process, been supplied to the atmosphere. An immense operation, therefore, on a scale commensurate with the grandeur of nature, is in progress, and has been going on ever since the world began. *What is its object?*

To answer this question, consider, first, that vegetation

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* *N. A. Review*, Vol. LIX., p. 226.

is, so far as we know, the only operation in nature which gives to the air free oxygen gas, that indispensable requisite to animal life. All prevailing chemical tendencies, on the contrary, take oxygen *from* the air. The materials of the earth's crust are not all saturated with it; many of them still rob the air of oxygen by all the changes they naturally undergo; and none of them, by any known natural process, give back a particle in the useful state in which they took it, — uncombined, or in a condition to support animal life. Animals all consume it, at every moment of their life, giving to the air carbonic acid in its place; and, when dead, their decaying bodies consume still more.

Decomposing vegetable matter tends to the same result. Its carbon, taking oxygen from the air, is restored in the form of carbonic acid. Combustion, as in the burning of fuel, amounts to precisely the same thing. It is merely rapid decay. The gigantic Pine, from which we have so frequently drawn our illustrations, has, for the last thousand years, been slowly gathering its carbon from the air. If the prostrate trunk be left to itself, it may be almost as slowly restored to the air in the original form of carbonic acid. But if set on fire, the whole work may be done, or rather undone, in a day.

All these great causes conspire to rob the air of its life-sustaining oxygen. The original supply is, indeed, so great, that, were there no natural compensation, centuries upon centuries would elapse before the amount of oxygen could be so much reduced, or that of carbonic acid increased, as sensibly to affect the present races of animals. Such a period, however, would eventually arrive, were there no provision for the decomposition of the carbonic acid, and the restoration of its oxygen. We have seen, that vegetation accomplishes this very result. The needful compensation, therefore, is found in the vegetable kingdom.

While animals consume the oxygen of the air, and give back carbonic acid, which is injurious to their life, this same carbonic acid is the principal element of the food of vegetables, — is consumed by them, and the oxygen restored for the use of animals. Hence, the necessity of the vegetable kingdom in purifying the air we breathe. Hence, the perfect adaptation of the two great classes of living beings to each other; each removing from the atmosphere what would

be noxious to the other, — each yielding to the atmosphere what is essential to the continued existence of the other.

And yet, in one point of view, this reciprocity, as Sir Boyle Roche would say, is nearly all on one side. The vegetable kingdom not only preceded the animal, but might have continued to exist alone, though, perhaps, not in its present extent and variety. The decaying races of plants, yielding their carbon to the soil and to the air, would furnish food for their successors. Let it be remembered, that the whole carbon of the carbonic acid, which animals render to the air in breathing, they have drawn from the vegetable kingdom in their food. In time, it would all have found its way back to the air, ready for new generations of plants, without the intervention of animals. At most, they merely expedite its return. It is quite as probable that they retard it. Not so with animals. No act of theirs, no natural process besides vegetation, restores the oxygen they consume to the atmosphere. The service which the vegetable kingdom renders to the animal, in this respect, therefore, though remotely, is yet really, essential to their continued existence.

But this is only one aspect. The vegetable kingdom renders to the animal another service, so essential, that its failure for a single year would depopulate the earth ; we refer to the indispensable agency of vegetables in providing the food of the whole animal kingdom. Annihilate plants, and the greater part of the animal races — all the herbivorous animals — would immediately die of famine ; the carnivorous would soon perish ; their bodies ere long would be resolved into their original air and dust, and nothing but the bare mineral kingdom, or lifeless, unorganized matter, would remain. We need not repeat the now familiar statement, that plants are the great, the sole, producers of organic matter. This is their grand office. They alone convert the materials furnished chiefly by the atmosphere ; they *condense air* into organized matter. While plants thus produce upon such a vast scale, they consume or destroy comparatively little. Even when they do consume their own products, it is not in the mere vegetation ; but in the accomplishment of some special results, chiefly in flowering. They often seem to *consume*, when they only *transform* and *transfer*. When they apparently consume the nutritive matter accumulated in the root of the carrot, for instance, or in the tuber of

a potato, they in fact transform it, for the most part, into branches, foliage, and flowers.

Animals *consume* what vegetables *produce*. They themselves produce nothing; they can produce nothing directly from the mineral world; they are only consumers. The herbivorous animals take from vegetables the organized matter which these have produced; a part of it they consume, — in respiration chiefly, — restoring the materials to the atmosphere, from which plants derived them; in the very form, too, in which they were originally taken, namely, as carbonic acid and water; which is what all animals render to the air in breathing. Some of the carbon, as well as all the nitrogen, is restored to the air in other forms. That which herbivorous animals do not thus restore they accumulate in their tissues. This constitutes the food of carnivorous animals, who consume and return to the air the greater part during their life, and the remainder in decay, after death. This accomplishes the revolution. The atmosphere, out of which plants create nourishment, and to which animals, as they consume, return it, thus connects the animal and vegetable kingdoms, and completes the great cycle of organic existence. Organized nourishing matter passes through various stages in vegetables, is raised to a higher life in the herbivorous animals, and undergoes its ultimate transformations in carnivorous animals. Portions are lost (consumed) at every stage; and, dropping out of the ascending current, fall back to the mineral state; to which the whole, having completed the round, finally returns.

We may here incidentally notice a beautiful subsidiary arrangement in this great system, which has quite lately been happily explained by the English Cuvier, Professor Owen. In our broad view, we suppose the dead and decaying tissues, both of animals and vegetables, to be resolved entirely into inorganic matter before they again enter the ascending current of organization; and this, no doubt, is generally the case. But here an important auxiliary part — a labor-saving operation — is performed by the animalcules, or infusory animals. When we consider their almost incredible numbers, — their fossil remains, even, forming vast deposits in many parts of the world, — their universal distribution, their astonishingly rapid multiplication, their insatiable voracity, and that they devour and assimilate the particles

of decomposing vegetable and animal bodies, in their downward career just about to escape from the organic system; we cannot doubt that they play some important part in the economy of nature, — nor long fail to perceive what that part is. Although they create no organized matter, yet they prevent the gradual diminution of that which already exists. For, as Professor Owen remarks,

"When organized matter is dissolved or suspended in water (as in any vegetable infusion, in the washings of the soil collected in pools, and streams, &c.) in that state of comminution and decay which immediately precedes its final decomposition into the elementary gases, and its consequent return from the organic to the inorganic world, the minute infusory animals, these wakeful members of nature's invisible police, are everywhere ready to arrest the fugitive organized particles, and turn them back into the ascending stream of animal life. Having converted such particles into their own living tissues, these animalcules become themselves the food of larger infusoria, and of numerous other small animals; which are, in turn, devoured by larger animals, such as fishes; and thus a *pabulum*, fit for the nourishment of the highest organized beings, is brought back, by a short route, from the extremity of the realms of organic matter." *

This is not the only instance in which the feeblest and apparently most insignificant instruments, such as animalcules wholly invisible to the naked eye, are made, by their immense multiplication, or by their continued agency through long periods of time, to accomplish the most important results. Mr. Owen's suggestion is the more interesting from its furnishing such a complete explanation of the vegetable source of the food of the countless tribes of aquatic and marine animals, thus removing the only difficulty that stood in the way of these generalizations. When we consider what an incalculable quantity of organized matter, dissolved or washed away by rain, is carried into our streams and rivers, and thence into the bosom of the all-absorbing ocean, we might be led to speculate upon the vast waste of material consequent upon the working even of this admirable terrestrial system. But the myriads of beings that animate the deep are nature's witnesses that she allows no such waste.

* *Lectures on the Comparative Anatomy and Physiology of the Invertebrate Animals.*

When the farmers along our sterile coast manure their exhausted lands with fish, they merely reclaim their own, and bring back to the soil what has been washed into the sea.

But returning from this slight digression to the main topic, we must not omit to notice one of the most interesting, as it is one of the most recent, conclusions of chemico-physiological science ; which carries out the leading idea, that the plant is an apparatus of production, to the fullest extent. It is now, perhaps, substantially proved, that plants not only furnish all the elements of the animal structure, but furnish each principal material ready-formed. Each constituent of the animal frame is prepared beforehand by the vegetable. The animal has only to appropriate it.

For example, the fat of an herbivorous animal is directly drawn from the oil and waxy matters which his vegetable food contains, and which pass, without essential chemical change, into the state of fat in the animal structure ; there to be consumed, *burned*, indeed, in respiration, and so resolved into carbonic acid and water, just as it would have been if burned in our lamps. The fibrin, which constitutes the muscles or flesh of the animal, and much of the solid portion of his blood ; the gelatine, of which the sinews and the organic part of the bones consist ; and the casein, which forms the curd of cheese, — these are essentially the same as the gluten of flour, the legumine of beans; and they exist ready-formed in the seeds and herbage of the grass on which the animal feeds. Many plants, indeed, produce actual fibrin ; it is a large ingredient of the milk of the famous *Palo de Vaca*, or Cow-tree of Caraccas, which contains all the constituents of that most important animal product ; — a tree which serves as a substitute for kine to the whole neighbourhood. The earthy portion of his bones, and the iron in his blood, are equally drawn, ready-formed, from the earthy constituents of the vegetables upon which he feeds. The animal merely accumulates these materials, changing them, it may be, little by little, as he destroys them, but giving them all back finally to the earth and air. Literally, then, "all flesh is grass." The wants of the animal kingdom were all prospectively provided for, when to them was "given every green herb for meat."

Let us take a final glance at the general economy of organic nature, in its relations to man. Under this aspect,

man is an interpolation. The whole system is perfect without him. It is independent of man, and might have gone on — as geologists assure us it did go on — for ages before his introduction upon the stage. But when man was at length introduced into this his temporary residence, and to him was "given dominion over" the organic world, he found a system in operation, every part of which he could turn to good account. The various influences of man upon the vegetable creation, and their consequences, form a subject much too wide and fruitful for present consideration. We barely advert to his relations to vegetation considered merely as furnishing nourishment.

Every other portion of creation, every species of plant or animal, stands in some particular part of the series, in more or less explicit relation to certain tribes upon which it feeds, and to certain others by which it is consumed. But omnivorous man steps in at each and every stage through which organic matter, or food, passes. Sometimes, interrupting the series at the initial step, he consumes the green and tender herb, or the foliage, — the very instrument for creating food. To subsist in this way, however, requires almost uninterrupted feeding. Possibly, men could thus subsist in the warmer climates; but a small number of them would require a large extent of territory, and even the lowest form of civilization would be unknown. Man, therefore, waits for the next step in vegetation; he allows the leaves to perform their office; and when they have accumulated a store of more concentrated nourishment in the root, as in the turnip, or in subterranean stems, as in the potato, or even in the leaves themselves, as in the cabbage, he seizes the deposit as his own.

For a larger part of his food he is content to wait still longer. He allows the plant to flower, and itself to use the accumulated store, and to deposit a large part of it anew in the fruit, and especially in the seed or grain; which furnishes to man his food in higher concentration than any other vegetable production. Grain, therefore, by affording leisure, is the parent of civilization. In the cereal grains we have the highest result of the vegetable kingdom, considered as furnishing nourishment. Nature's most beneficent gifts to man are wheat, rice, and maize; of which the two former were given, one to the cooler, the other to the hotter por-

tions of the Old World; while the third was presented to the New. It is not surprising, therefore, that the *cerealia* have from the earliest times been regarded with a kind of religious reverence in every part of the world. The grain, indeed, contains no peculiar product, nothing that does not also exist in the herbage ; it only contains these elements in the most concentrated form. A grain of maize or Indian corn — one of our own great staples, and the father of that ruder and imperfect civilization which preceded ours in the warmer parts of this continent — may serve to illustrate the manner in which each essential element of food is condensed in all the *cerealia*. The greater part of its bulk consists of starch, with other isomeric products, here accumulated for the early support of the enclosed embryo plant, when it struggles into life in germination ; but which, when it becomes the farinaceous food of man and other animals, is in respiration resolved into its inorganic elements, with the evolution of heat. The outer portion of this farinaceous mass, as well as the embryo plant itself, is soaked in oil ; the source of the fat in the animals which consume it. Throughout the whole is diffused the nitrogenized class of products, such as gluten, vegetable albumen, &c., which in the animal economy are turned at once into the fibrin of flesh or muscle, the gelatine of the bones and sinews. And, finally, in that part of the seed chiefly which belongs to the embryo plant itself — as Dr. Hayes and Dr. C. T. Jackson have shown — certain mineral ingredients are stored, such as the phosphates of lime and magnesia, which form the earthy part of the bones of animals, and the iron which performs an important function in the blood.

But man has still another resource, — one which he might possibly dispense with in tropical climes ; though it is indispensable, if he would colonize the cooler parts of the world. To obtain his food in a still more concentrated form, he is obliged to call in the aid of his fellow-consumers in the animal kingdom. He makes the domestic animals graze for him, — an employment for which their ample stomachs and abundant leisure are well adapted ; he even supplies them with esculent roots, fruits, and grain ; and, in their flesh, he receives again his universal food, changed only in form, and in the greatest possible degree of concentration.

The question has often been warmly discussed, whether

man is naturally herbivorous or carnivorous. But as his nourishment is essentially the same from whatever source derived, the question resolves itself into others, respecting the degree of concentration in which it is desirable he should receive his food, the very important effects of variety in diet, and whether it be intended that man should colonize the colder parts of the earth. Vegetable food may suffice within the tropics, and perhaps for warmly clad and inactive people in the temperate zones. To learn whether the natives of the colder parts of the world are intended to subsist directly upon vegetable food, we have only to compare the meagre crops of grain or of esculent roots, that can be raised north of fifty-five degrees of latitude, with the actual amount of food required to support life and health in the colder regions. For example ; in the last exploring journey to the shores of the Arctic Sea, — that of Simpson and Dease, — the daily ration of each man, when the supply allowed was from *eight to twelve pounds of venison!* And the agent of the North American Fur Company states, that the men employed in active service, when restricted to this aliment, consume some eight pounds of fresh meat a day, or ten pounds when the bones are included.

To whom is science indebted for the fine generalizations, some of which we have been attempting to exhibit, and for the discoveries upon which they are based ? Our remarks have already extended so far, that little space remains for answering this inquiry. But we may say, with Dumas, that the fruitful series of discovery commenced with Lavoisier, the father of modern chemistry. That Lavoisier clearly apprehended the all-essential influence of light to organic life will appear from the following sentence, which, for convenience, we cite from the translation of the Discourse of Dumas. "Organization, sensation, voluntary motion, life, only exist on the surface of the earth, and in places exposed to light. It might be said, indeed, that the fable of Prometheus was the expression of a philosophical truth, which had not escaped the penetration of the ancients. Without light, nature were without life and without soul ; a beneficent God, in shedding light over creation, strewed the surface of the earth with organization, with sensation, and with thought." To Lavoisier must also be attributed the discovery of the true theory of respiration and animal heat. Respiration, he

distinctly announced in the last volume of his Memoirs, is nothing more than a slow combustion of carbon and hydrogen, resembling that which takes place in a lamp; the atmosphere, as in all other cases, furnishing the oxygen, while the body and blood of the animal, which *burns* and *consumes*, supply the combustible matter; and the heat thus evolved maintains his elevated temperature. Hence, did not animals habitually replenish, by their food, the loss they constantly sustain in respiration, they would shortly die, as a lamp goes out when its oil is consumed. The torch of life is lighted when the child begins to breathe, is kept burning by the constant supply of aliment, and is finally extinguished in death. The obvious objection, that the lungs — the furnace where this combustion was supposed to be going on — should be warmer than the remote parts of the body, which is not the case, was long ago disposed of by the modified view of Lagrange, Vogel, Home, and Brande, and by the more recent confirmatory experiments of Bischoff and Magnus; which go to show, that the combustion takes place, not in the lungs, but in every part of the body to which the oxygen that supports it, absorbed in the lungs, is conveyed by the arterial circulation. Even the office of the red particles of the blood, as carriers of oxygen, of late so strikingly set forth by Liebig, was long since suggested by Sir Humphrey Davy.

We owe to Senebier the discovery of the opposite action of vegetables upon the air; namely, the decomposition of carbonic acid in the green parts of plants under the agency of the solar rays, and the evolution of its oxygen. But to Adolphe Brongniart belongs the credit of having, nearly twenty years ago, assigned the carbonic acid of the atmosphere as the source of all the carbon of plants, and consequently of animals. He developed this idea in the form of some very interesting geological speculations respecting the constitution of the atmosphere, and the state of organized existence in the earliest times. If all the carbon of existing plants and animals and their remains, as well as that which, gathered by vast primeval forests, is now buried in the bosom of the earth in the form of coal, — and, we may add, that in coral and in all the lime-rock to which marine animals have given rise, — if this immense quantity of carbon, previous to the creation of organized beings, was diffused through the air in the form

of carbonic acid, it would follow, that our atmosphere, which now contains less than a thousandth part in volume of this gas, must then have contained a much larger proportion ; a proportion so large, probably, as to inhibit the existence of warm-blooded terrestrial animals. And accordingly, at the epoch of the coal formations, when vegetation must have had an extraordinary luxuriance, not a single terrestrial air-breathing animal appears to have existed. But when this ancient vegetation had withdrawn a large amount of carbonic acid from the air, and replaced it with an equal bulk of oxygen, a variety of air-breathing reptiles of monstrous size and form made their appearance ; animals which, from the nature of their respiration, are capable of living in much less pure air than is requisite for those of higher organization, of which they were the heralds and precursors. For it was not until after these vast stores of carbon had been abstracted from the air, and the retiring ocean and other causes allowed a larger portion of the earth's surface to be clothed with verdure, that a number of mammiferous animals, analogous to those now existing in the world, seem to have appeared upon its surface. At present, it is not probable that vegetation, in its *ensemble*, is accumulating carbon upon the earth's surface, and consequently increasing the proportion of oxygen in the air, to any considerable extent. The organic and inorganic forces must be nearly in equilibrium. By so much as vegetation tends to increase the proportion of oxygen, it also tends to increase both the energy of respiration in animals and the rapidity of the decomposition (oxygenation) of vegetable and animal remains, and the consequent restoration of the carbonic acid to the atmosphere, whence it was drawn. The agency of vegetation, having brought the air to that degree of purity which comports with the active respiration of warm-blooded animals, while, at the same time, it affords sufficient *pabulum* for plants, the opposing influences of these two orders of beings conspire to maintain the air in a state of stability.

May we not carry our speculations into the former constitution of the atmosphere a step further back ? May we not contemplate the physiological agency of vegetation, so early and largely introduced, as repairing the effects of an earlier physical operation, which must have greatly altered, in an opposite mode, the original constitution of the air ?

As the earth's crust cooled down from the state of incandescence upon which geologists love to speculate, incalculable quantities of free oxygen must have been withdrawn from the air, and imprisoned in the oxydation of its mineral elements, with a force which no subsequent natural agency, at any rate upon a large scale, has been able to loosen. The vegetation which supervened, stimulated to high luxuriance by the fine *bottom heat* and reeking atmosphere of those times, began to repair this loss, by decomposing the carbonic acid of the air, and thus increasing the relative amount of its oxygen. Thus the beds of iron ore and of coal, which accompany and overlie each other upon the earth's rind, have withdrawn from the original atmosphere, the one a portion of its oxygen, the other a portion of its carbonic acid. When we would obtain the former in its primitive and useful state, we mingle the ore with the coal, and drive off the oxygen, surcharged with carbon, again into the air from which both originally came, by the aid of the heat which the vegetables that gathered the carbon had absorbed from the sun's rays.

This idea, that plants absorb light and heat — a true force — from the sun, as well as that they constitute a deoxydizing apparatus, reducing the oxydized products of animal life, is claimed by Dumas and Boussingault. The latter promulgated the opinion, that plants absorb light or caloric, in the year 1837. And Dumas sets forth the following *programme*, as exhibiting the doctrines of his discourse.

AN ANIMAL IS	A VEGETABLE IS
An apparatus of combustion.	An apparatus of reduction.
Possesses the faculty of locomotion.	Is fixed.
Burns carbon,	Reduces carbon,
hydrogen,	hydrogen,
ammonium.	ammonium.
Exhales carbonic acid,	Fixes carbonic acid,
water,	water,
oxide of ammonium,	oxide of ammonium,
azote or nitrogen.	azote or nitrogen.
Consumes oxygen,	Produces oxygen,
neutral azotized matters,	neutral azotized matters,
fatty materials,	fatty materials,
starch, sugar, gum, &c.	starch, sugar, gum, &c.

Produces heat, electricity.	Absorbs heat.
	Abstracts electricity.
Restores its elements to the air or to the earth.	Derives its elements from the air or the earth.
Transforms organized into mineral matters.	Transforms mineral into organized matters.

That plants decompose water as well as carbonic acid, at least in certain operations, and liberate its oxygen, has recently been demonstrated by Boussingault. That vegetable tissue has the same identical composition as starch and other ternary organic products was first clearly proved by Payen. The mode in which these products are consumed and restored to the air by animals was popularly taught from about the same period (as early as 1839) by Liebig and the French chemists. The discovery of the part which ammonia plays in vegetation, as *one* principal source of the plant's azotized food, (for Liebig's statement, that it is the sole source of the nitrogen of plants, was too hasty,) is claimed for M. Schattenmann. The essential identity of vegetable albumen with animal albumen, and consequently the general identity of the quaternary azotized neutral products of plants and animals, was first shown by Mulder ; who deduced the important consequence, " that the great mass of animal substances is supplied by the vegetable kingdom." The discovery of fibrin, as such, — the very material of the flesh of animals, — in the juices and fruits of certain esculent plants, was long ago made by Vauquelin ; its presence in wheat-flour has recently been ascertained by Dumas.

That the fat of herbivorous animals is directly drawn, like their other constituents, ready-formed, from their vegetable food, has been strenuously taught by Dumas, Boussingault, and Payen, and is amply confirmed, as to the general fact, by a variety of experiments and direct observations, which our limits forbid us to notice. Professor Liebig maintains, on the contrary, as our readers are well aware, that the fat of animals is produced by a transformation of the starch, sugar, &c., of their food. During the last year or two, a very piquant discussion upon this subject has been carried on between the Giessen and the Parisian chemists ; which has ended in the confirmation of an old observation of Hubert, that bees have the power of producing wax when fed upon sugar alone ; whence it follows, that ordinary herbivorous

animals *may* produce fat from similar materials. But on the other hand, the French chemists have pretty clearly made out, that the fat of animals ordinarily comes directly from the oil and wax of their herbivorous food.

Another interesting question remains, which we have reserved to the last, because it is one which has particularly occupied the attention of Professor Draper, and forms the *gist* of his elaborate volume "on the forces which produce the organization of plants." The sunbeams contain light, and heat, and chemical, or, as Dr. Draper would say, *tithonic* rays. Which of these are the efficient agents in vegetable digestion? Which, in other words, enable the green foliage to reduce carbonic acid, and create organic matter? The old experiments of Senebier, the discoverer of this agency of light in vegetable digestion, as well as some recent researches of Mr. Hunt in England, seemed to show, that the violet and blue rays are most efficient; from which it was inferred, — as, indeed, would *a priori* be supposed, — that it is the chemical rays of the sunbeam which exert this wonderful power. This has ever been the prevailing opinion, and is taken for granted by Dumas. Observing that when he attempted to depict foliage by the *daguerrotype*, the green parts were not represented, Dumas remarks, that "it is as if the whole of the chemical rays essential to the photographic phenomenon had disappeared, had been absorbed and retained by the leaf. It would seem, therefore, that the chemical rays of light vanish entirely in the green parts of the plants; an extraordinary absorption, but easily explicable, when the enormous expenditure of chemical force necessary to decompose so stable a substance as carbonic acid is considered."

On the other hand, the experiments instituted some years ago by Professor Morren in Belgium, and Professor Daubeny in England, led them to the conclusion, that the yellow or most luminous rays, or, in other words, that light, strictly so called, was the efficient agent. Their experiments were made by exposing plants to sunlight transmitted through colored glass; a mode liable to obvious objections. To Dr. Draper belongs the credit of having devised and practised a much better mode of performing the experiment, namely, by exposing foliage in the solar spectrum itself to the influence of the different colors, and measuring the activ-

ity of vegetable digestion, or the amount of carbonic acid decomposed, by the quantity of oxygen gas evolved. And to eliminate the heat and chemical rays, he also employed those colored media which absorb in their passage the greater portion of these constituents of the sunbeam. The results he obtained confirm those of Morren and Daubeny, namely, that yellow or *luminous light* is the agent in vegetable digestion. They may, perhaps, be considered decisive on this point; for Mr. Hunt's experiments relate rather to the influence of light upon germination and the development of the green color, than directly upon the formation of vegetable tissue.

In whatever way this question may be settled, it advances us but a short distance towards the solution of the great problem, "*how* light acts in producing organization," to which Dr. Draper's volume is professedly devoted. But the whole that it really contains on the subject — all that it contributes to our former stock of knowledge or opinion — is embraced in the following hypothesis, which, so far as we know, has the merit of entire originality.

"The very remarkable qualities which certain nitrogenized substances are known to exhibit, acting as ferments as they are undergoing decay, might lead to the supposition, that the decomposition of carbonic acid by leaves is due to the action of some nitrogenized body, the eremacausis of which is promoted by the rays of the sun." — p. 182.

And again,

"There are many facts which go to prove, that the decomposition of carbonic acid is a secondary result, brought about by the action of nitrogenized ferment in a state of eremacausis, the sunlight operating in the first instance upon the ferment itself." — p. 183.

These facts, however, all resolve themselves into one, namely, the evolution of a quantity of nitrogen by leaves; which has long been known, but which has always been supposed to arise from the mechanical escape of a portion of the free nitrogen gas, necessarily absorbed, as we have seen, with the water which the roots imbibe. But Dr. Draper endeavours to show, that the quantity exhaled is much too large for such origin; and the results of his experiments (paragraphs 812–818) are certainly not only extraordinary in themselves, but in more than one respect apparently ir-

reconcilable with those of Boussingault. "Its true source," he concludes, "is only to be sought in some nitrogenized compound present in the leaf, which is undergoing decomposition in some regulated way"; and upon this ferment he supposes that the light acts, to incite the decomposition of carbonic acid in vegetable digestion.

Surely, a bold theory is here built upon a very narrow, not to say an unsubstantial, basis; and when constructed, it helps us very little in the way of explanation. With due deference, therefore, we must still continue to believe, that the essential phenomenon of vegetable growth is something very different from the working of beer. No hypothesis could well involve a higher intrinsic improbability. It consists of Liebig's doctrine of fermentation, misapplied, as we think, to a case of a radically different order. Fermentation, germination, &c., are destructive processes; vegetable digestion is a creative process. In the former, vegetable tissue and vegetable products are *decomposed* and carbonic acid *formed;* in the latter, on the contrary, carbonic acid is *decomposed* and vegetable tissue and products are *formed.* Is it probable, that two such diametrically opposite processes as the formation and the destruction of organic matter are owing to the same or similar causes? that the gluten or albumen, which in the germinating grain of wheat incites the decomposition of vegetable tissue, starch, and sugar, and their resolution into carbonic acid and water, should in the leaf give rise to exactly the reverse effects, — the decomposition of carbonic acid and water, and the production of vegetable tissue, starch, and sugar? Besides, the formation of the nitrogenized products themselves is one of the essential results of vegetable digestion. Can their formation, then, be due to a process which in the first place involves their destruction? We will only add, that this hypothesis is open to another, by no means uncommon, objection; that of leaving the matter to be explained less plain than before. Framed purposely to explain the action of light on the foliage, it renders the phenomenon more obscure than ever, by gratuitously connecting it with a process (that of fermentation) which goes on quite as well in the dark.

We have taken special notice of this point, because it is the only one in the chemico-physiological portion of Professor Draper's volume, excepting the experiments upon

vegetable digestion with the solar spectrum, that strikes us as new, — and with the purely physical part we are not disposed to meddle. We must except, however, the annunciation of the discovery, that "*the rays of the sun are the true nervous principle of plants!*" (pp. 102, 206, etc.,) an idea which is seriously maintained in a full and eminently verbose chapter. Thus this obscure subject is rendered as clear as daylight. Some modern physiologists have been vainly searching for the traces of a nervous system in the plant itself. They should have looked to the sunshine; unless, indeed, moonshine would do as well. Noteworthy, also, is the intimation, that our Indian summer — long a puzzle to philosophers — is owing to the heat evolved by the decaying foliage of the season! p. 93.

Dutrochet's explanation of the rise and circulation of the sap in plants by what he called *endosmosis*, and the reduction of this latter power to the general laws of capillarity and interdiffusion by Professor Graham and others, leave no novelty in Dr. Draper's very detailed chapter upon that subject; except in the proposition, — the truth of which we must still be permitted to doubt, — that the exhalation of the sap in the leaves exerts no essential influence upon its rise in the stem.

Chemists are naturally prone to magnify their office, and to explain almost every thing in the animal and vegetable economy upon chemical principles. In their views, frequently, the vital force — the organizing principle that animates the living body and controls its formation — plays nearly the same subordinate part as the Supreme Being in the system of the Brahmins. The latter admit the existence of a supreme deity, but suppose that he remains in a state of holy obscurity and inertness. The chemists kindly allow, that there may be such a thing as a vital force in the abstract, but are too apt to consider it a superfluity. At least, they would leave it nothing to do. But Dr. Draper is more hardy, and denies its existence altogether.

"In this work, the existence of the vital force of physiologists — as a homogeneous and separate force — is uniformly denied. Living structures, far from being the product of one such homogeneous power, are rather the resultants of the action of a multitude of natural forces. Gravity, cohesion, elasticity, the agency of the imponderables, and all other powers which

operate both on masses and atoms, are called into action, and hence it is, that the very evolution of a living form depends on the condition, that all these various agents conspire. There is no mystery in animated beings, which time will not at last reveal." — p. 2.

Not only are living beings the result of the action or equilibrium of a great variety of common purely physical forces, — if we rightly apprehend the statement, — but the living body offers no more or other resistance to these physical forces than a dead carcass. For "it is a vulgar error," says our author, "that a living being possesses a principle of resistance to external agents, while a dead one submits to them; both equally change, or, of the two, the living one putrefies and changes the more rapidly." (p. 6.) "Life and vitality figure away in these visionary speculations [the theories of physiologists] as though they were realities." (p. 41.) If, indeed, vital, as distinguished from common physical, forces have no existence, we may as well admit the doctrine with which the following sentence concludes. "What, then, are the final impressions left upon our minds by these general considerations? They teach us, that life never occurs except in regions to which the imponderable agents can have access, an observation which is equally true of vegetable and of animal forms; *that elementary organization directly or indirectly arises from the plastic agency of those all-pervading forces.*" (p. 14.) Surely, the author would disclaim the inference which he here seems to invite.

The scientific readers of Dr. Draper's large volume will find themselves as much mistaken as we were, if they suppose, that, although addressed to chemical philosophers, it is actually filled with original contributions to science. These, if separately presented, would occupy but a moderate space. Indeed, from the discursive and tropically luxuriant style, and from the particularity with which the author enters upon the most detailed explanations of perfectly trite and elementary matters, we should imagine that the treatise may have been originally prepared, and have done service, in the form of popular lectures to medical students. The introductory chapter, in particular, though well enough adapted for that purpose, an ill-natured critic might compare to an *omelette soufflée*, of which Dumas and Cuvier may have furnished

the egg, Humboldt, Lyell, and others, the condiment, and Dr. Draper the intumescence.

The author's ingenious views on the rise of the sap in plants, and the circulation in animals, are prefaced by an elementary treatise on capillary attraction. Before we reach his proper observations on the action of light upon foliage, we have two very diffuse chapters to undergo, on the solar spectrum in general, Newton's theory of colors, the calorific and the chemical rays, and a great variety of elementary matters, with which a philosopher of the lowest acquirements might be presumed familiar, or for which, if he would refresh his school-boy recollections, he might turn to his forgotten text-books. And when at length the interesting experiment comes to be described, (the substance of which we have given in a former page,) the reader's attention is directed, not so much to the point which it was intended to prove, as to the gaudy tints that are reflected by the apparatus upon the wall of the room.

"This prismatic experiment is one of the most beautiful objects which organic chemistry can offer, carried on in a chamber which would be totally dark, were it not for the intensely colored curves which are cast upon the walls by reflection from the tubes, — curves which often are many yards in length, indicating by their gaudy tints and brilliancy the intensity of the sun's light. The tubes and the vegetable leaves glow with the colors in which they are immersed. Meantime the most interesting phenomenon which can be witnessed is silently going forward; dead and inanimate matter is, under the influence of the plastic beam, putting on the form of organization and life." — p. 64.

This reminds us of one of the newspaper articles, emanating from an American observatory, upon the great comet of 1843, about the time of its first appearance. The observer, unfortunately, did not see the comet for which he was searching; but he filled his page with a glowing account of the twilight, and with some miscellaneous observations on the fixed stars.

And, finally, when the nervous principle of plants is considered, — and what that is our readers are already informed, — we are treated, by way of introduction, with a particular account of *the five senses;* of which the following may serve as a specimen.

"The optic nerve, which gathers on its retinal expansion the images of outward forms, transmits them to the brain. To that cerebral tract to which it goes, the power is given to be affected by luminous agency; it is immaterial whether that agency consists of undulations of an ethereal medium, or spends itself in producing a chemical change of the retina. The *portio mollis* of the seventh pair, also, exposes itself in the cochlea of the ear, and having the function of audition committed to it, vibrates correspondingly to those oscillatory movements which constitute sound. So, too, with the olfactory nerve, which, pushing its way through the cribiform plate of the ethmoid bone, expands in a million of ramified branches on the Schneiderian membrane, and is ready to be impressed by odors or smells. There is no such thing as a mutual convertibility of the offices of these different machines; no vicarious interchange of action; each one has its own duty to perform, each has to discharge its proper task, and the construction of each is suitably arranged. In human contrivances, the same necessity of result arises; the telescope will not answer for a piano, nor a piano for a telescope." — p. 100.

Why did not our author add the classical illustration, *Οὐ γὰρ σύριγγα κέρκου τοῦ χοίρου ποιητέον*? Surely, the doctrine of an ancient *savant*, one Bottom, "The eye of man hath not heard, the ear of man hath not seen, man's hand is not able to taste, his tongue to conceive, nor his heart to report," — opposed although it has been in these Mesmeric days, — is now incontrovertibly established. Again:

"The nervous and optical mechanism of the eye is so arranged as to have entire charge of the reception of impressions conveyed by the luminiferous ether; the auditory mechanism of the ear is constituted so as to receive undulations of gaseous bodies like atmospheric air; and, correspondingly, if intelligence has to be communicated to a distance, and received by other minds through the agency of a visual organ, the motor nerves of the hand are put in action, the fingers move, and letters appear upon the paper." — p. 101.

But the number of these letters is sometimes out of all proportion to the amount of intelligence communicated.

Art. VII. — 1. *Commerce of the Prairies : or the Journal of a Santa Fé Trader, during eight Expeditions across the great Western Prairies, and a Residence of nearly nine Years in Northern Mexico.* Illustrated by Maps and Engravings. By Josiah Gregg. New York : Henry G. Langley. 1844. 2 vols. 12mo.

2. *Narrative of the Texan Santa Fé Expedition ; comprising a Description of a Tour through Texas, and across the great Southwestern Prairies, the Camanche and Caygua Hunting-grounds ; with an Account of the Sufferings from Want of Food, Losses from hostile Indians, and final Capture of the Texans, and their March, as Prisoners, to the City of Mexico.* With Illustrations and a Map. By Geo. Wilkins Kendall. New York : Harper and Brothers. 1844. 2 vols. 12mo.

Mr. Gregg's book is obviously not the production of a very practised writer. The interest of his narrative is in some degree impaired by introducing episodes by way of illustration, and by combining details belonging to different years, with the laudable view of giving all his information in the smallest possible compass. There are so few writers who have sufficient heroism to sacrifice any materials they may chance to have on hand, that we cannot find it in our hearts to censure him for this ; and the want of a more lively and continuous narrative is compensated by his obvious desire to give full and just views of the subjects which he treats. He was actively engaged, for many years, in the commerce between the United States and the northern provinces of Mexico. In the prosecution of this commerce, he has traversed the vast intervening regions, till the incidents of life and travel on the prairies have become familiar to him as his fireside ; perhaps a little more so, as he acknowledges, that it is only in the Far West that he really feels himself at home. His personal adventures, however, were not attended with much peril, and the subject has of late been rendered in some degree familiar by more practised writers. We are much more interested in those portions of the work, in which he gives the results of his observations in New Mexico, and relates the origin and progressof the trade to which we have alluded.

No better illustration could be given of the daring and ever-active enterprise which distinguishes the Americans even more than the race from which they sprang, than is to be found in the history of this over-land commerce with New Mexico. In its conception and general character, it is a revival of the caravan trade of the East. Before it began, that country had depended for its supplies of all commodities other than its own on the ports of Mexico, with which the communications were slow and far from easy. James Pursley, in 1805, was the first American adventurer who found his way across the wilderness to Santa Fé; and the heart of this trading pilgrim must have been as stout as that ascribed by Horace to the navigator who first launched his bark upon the sea; for it does not appear that he had any other companions than some Indians, whom he encountered on his way. But the same enterprise had been safely accomplished during the preceding year, by a French Creole, named La Lande, who went as the agent of a merchant of Kaskaskia. Neither of these hardy adventurers appears to have returned to tell the story of his perils. Pursley remained in Santa Fé some years; his subsequent history is not known, though there is no reproach resting on his character. But the Frenchman forgot to render an account to his employer, and became a prosperous gentleman with the aid of the capital so dishonestly obtained. Captain, afterwards General, Pike's account of his well known expedition, which was begun in 1806, gave the first impulse to enterprise in this direction. By pursuing the course which he had pointed out, a party found their way, in 1812, to Santa Fé, supposing that Hidalgo's declaration of independence, two years before, had removed the restrictions imposed by the royal government upon the trade; but before they reached their destination, independence was prostrate, and royalism once more in the ascendant; their goods were confiscated, and they were imprisoned and detained for a long period as spies. Other attempts were subsequently made, some of which were attended with disaster, and some with tolerable success. It is from the year 1822, that Mr. Gregg is disposed to date the real opening of the trade; wheeled vehicles, the introduction of which gave it an importance it could never otherwise have had, were first employed in 1824.

The town of Franklin, on the Missouri, about one hundred and fifty miles above St. Louis, was first selected by the traders as a place of gathering and outfit. Afterwards the village of Independence was preferred, having the recommendation of being a hundred miles higher up the river, and of saving to that extent the expense and labor of land-carriage. The caravans usually took their departure from this place in May. In the early part of the month, adventurers might be seen flocking thither from all quarters, some bent on high schemes of commercial speculation, some in pursuit of health, and some induced only by an instinctive desire to get a little farther west; but all busy in making preparations for the work before them, and in procuring the stores which would be looked for in vain beyond the borders. Thence they proceeded in separate detachments one hundred and fifty miles farther on, to Council Grove; where the caravans were organized into something resembling a military array. A captain was first chosen, who had just as much authority as he could extort, or his subordinates might think proper to allow; the caravan was then arranged in several divisions, with a lieutenant over each, to make suitable arrangements for encampment every evening, and for the crossing of the creeks and rivers. The caravan which Mr. Gregg first accompanied, in 1831, consisted of nearly a hundred wagons, besides several smaller vehicles, and two small pieces of artillery mounted upon carriages; the whole efficient force numbering about two hundred men. About one half of the wagons were drawn by ox-teams, and the rest by mules. The value of the merchandise thus conveyed and guarded was about two hundred thousand dollars. Notwithstanding the military precautions taken for security, there was nothing soldier-like in the armament or costume of the party; these were such as the taste or means of each individual might dictate. With so formidable an array, little was to be apprehended from the Indians, who have an ungovernable propensity for stealing, but do not care to indulge it at the risk of life.

We cannot follow Mr. Gregg in his journey, which those who know the usual pace of oxen will not suppose could be a very rapid one, but come with him at once to its termination in the autumn. The first settlement of consequence which he entered was that of San Miguel, a congregation of

hovels with walls of mud, about fifty miles distant from Santa Fé. Leaving this place, and pursuing his way, he came in sight of extensive corn-fields, with many of what he imagined to be brick-kilns, scattered in every direction. This was the goodly capital of Santa Fé itself; hailed by the traveller, after his long and weary journey, with a degree of joy, for which it was by no means indebted to its architectural beauty. Nor is the arrival of the caravan a matter of trifling interest to the fair of Santa Fé; as may be imagined, when it is remembered, that it is to them what the arrival of the latest Paris fashions is in some other regions. Great is the preparation made by the wagoners to present themselves in the overpowering beauty of their Sunday suits, with clean faces and sonorous whip-lashes, before the bright eyes, which are probably bent with less keen interest on them than on the contents of their packages; but nothing in the form of mortal beauty has power to withdraw the thoughts of the merchants from the absorbing subject of a safe and early passage through the custom-house. The ordinary rate of duties is enormously high; twice as great, at least, as the cost of the goods. This is not for the purpose of protection, — as it does not appear that the New Mexicans have many manufactories of their own to be protected, — or to carry out any economical theories; but it is owing to an enlightened desire on the part of the authorities to get as much as they possibly can, without suffering a matter so trifling as the welfare of the people to enter as an element into the calculation. It so happens, however, that the worthies of the custom-house exercise a sort of dispensing power, in the form of "an arrangement," the terms of which are settled without much difficulty; in some instances, we are assured by Mr. Gregg, on the authority of rumor, a composition of this kind is effected: the legal duties are divided into three equal parts, of which the officers, by way of compensation for their trouble in the business, keep one; another goes to the merchants; and the third is scrupulously reserved for the government. For a few years, Governor Armijo of Santa Fé, the odor of whose name was far from savory to foreigners, imposed a tariff of duties, which was remarkable for its beautiful simplicity; ordaining that the sum of five hundred dollars should be paid for every wagon-load, whether great or small, or consisting of cheap or costly merchandize.

The traders at once entered into the spirit of this meritorious financial scheme, by excluding all coarse and weighty articles from their cargoes, and prosecuting the trade with huge vehicles, drawn by nearly a dozen mules ; till his Excellency found it expedient to abandon his experiments, and return to the established system. The amount of duties collected annually at the port of Santa Fé is from fifty to eighty thousand dollars, of which, according to Mr. Gregg, about one half is received by the government, and the other adheres to the pockets of the officers of the customs.

We have spoken of this commerce as already in existence, and, from some statements in the public papers, we suppose that it is renewed. It is well known, however, that, owing to the murder of a respectable citizen of New Mexico by a lawless band, partly from Texas, and partly from our own frontier, and to an expedition undertaken by Texas, which the Mexican government chose to consider as proceeding from the United States, the ports of New Mexico and Chihuahua were closed by a decree of Santa Anna, early in the last year. Whether this decree is now rescinded or not, it obviously cannot long continue; the people of New Mexico will probably not be slow to calculate the value of an union, which makes them suffer for the evil deeds of others. Mr. Gregg gives us some interesting details, showing the extent to which this trade has been prosecuted within the last twenty-two years. The value of the merchandise transported in 1843 is estimated at 450,000 dollars ; this sum being its cost in the Atlantic cities. In addition to the cost of freight and insurance to Independence, a further investment, equal, perhaps, to one fourth part of the original amount, was required to cover the expense of transportation to Santa Fé. This merchandise belonged to thirty proprietors, a majority of whom were New Mexicans; several of these having engaged in the trade within the last few years, and probably enjoying some advantages which are denied to foreigners. Two hundred and thirty wagons, and three hundred and fifty men, were employed in the transportation ; the actual cost of which may be inferred from the fact, that freighters are to be found on the Missouri frontier, who will undertake to convey goods to Santa Fé for ten or twelve cents a pound, and from Santa Fé to Chihuahua, for six or eight cents more. The gross amount of the sales has rarely exceeded

fifty *per cent.* advance on the cost of the merchandise, giving a profit to the trader of between twenty and forty *per cent.*; sometimes, however, the profit has been less than ten *per cent.*, and there have been instances, in which adventures have been attended with positive loss. Within the last thirteen years, no trader has been killed by the Indians, and few animals have been stolen from the caravans. There is little reason to doubt, that a good understanding with the government of Mexico might place this commerce on a footing of benefit and importance to both countries; the only reason why it has maintained itself so long, in the face of the advantages enjoyed by British merchants in the Mexican seaports, is, that a preference is universally given to goods of American manufacture.

The geographical position of New Mexico is not favorable to that progress in the arts of life, which results from free communication with other states. It is surrounded by barriers, presenting far greater obstacles to the traveller than the broadest sea; chains of mountains and desert prairies extend on every side but that which looks towards Chihuahua, from which it is divided by a wilderness extending nearly two hundred miles. Water communication there is absolutely none; not a single navigable stream is to be found; even the Rio del Norte, during the greater portion of the year, has hardly water sufficient for a bark canoe, and is obstructed by shoals and rapids for more than a thousand miles below Santa Fé. Opposite Taos, this river runs for a space of fifteen miles, with a rapid current, through a deep chasm, whose walls rise on each side in frightful precipices, from the verge of which it requires the firmest nerve to look down without dismay. From its source in the Rocky Mountains to the Gulf of Mexico, an extent of more than two thousand miles, it is not navigable for more than a tenth part of the distance. This great disadvantage of position is in some degree balanced by the clearness of the sky, and the salubrity of the climate; but the benefits of these are not enjoyed by a very numerous population; the whole number of inhabitants, Creoles, mixed Creoles, and Pueblos, being estimated by Mr. Gregg at about seventy thousand, or about one to every three square miles of territory; of these, the city of Santa Fé contains about six thousand. Agriculture, owing to the necessity of frequent irrigation, is princi-

pally confined to the borders of the few streams where water can be found throughout the year; nor can it be expected to flourish, in the absence of the means of transportation. The principal wealth of the proprietors consists in their extensive flocks and herds, which are maintained in excellent condition by the pasturage upon the elevated table-lands.

Under a different government, the mines of New Mexico might become important, as they appear to have been in former times; but the aversion generally entertained towards foreigners is such, that no aid can be derived from abroad to work them, and the natives are too ignorant to do it with much profit. No silver mines have been wrought within the last century; and the present product of the gold mines is quite small. There are ruins, however, which indicate that it has not been always so; those of La Gran Quivira, about one hundred miles south of Santa Fé, are the remains of a city, evidently far superior in extent and opulence to the present capital. Walls, particularly those of churches, built of hewn stone, a material which finds no place in the existing architecture of New Mexico, still stand erect in silence and desolation; and cisterns and remains of aqueducts, through an extent of eight or ten miles, show that the supply of water must have been obtained from the surrounding mountains, the nearest source from which it could have been derived. Some have regarded these as the remains of an aboriginal city; but Mr. Gregg, with apparent reason, supposes them to be of Spanish origin, and to have been indebted for their superiority to the neighbourhood of a productive mine. Some traditional accounts render it probable, that the city was depopulated in 1680, when a general insurrection took place of the native tribes against the Spaniards. Lead of an inferior quality is also found, copper in considerable quantity, and iron in abundance. Mr. Gregg gives the following account of the *salinas*, or salt lakes:

"Near a hundred miles southward from the capital, on the high table-land between the Rio del Norte and Pecos, there are some extensive salt-ponds, which afford an inexhaustible supply of this indispensable commodity, not only for the consumption of this province, but for portions of the adjoining departments. The largest of these *Salinas* is five or six miles in circumference. The best time to collect the salt is during the dry season, when the lakes contain but little water; but even when flooded,

salt may be scooped up from the bottom, where it is deposited in immense beds, in many places of unknown depth, and, when dried, much resembles the common alum salt. The best, however, which is of superior quality, rises as a scum upon the water. A great many years ago, a firm causeway was thrown up through the middle of the principal lake, upon which the *carretas* and mules are driven, and loaded with salt still dripping with water. The *Salinas* are public property, and the people resort to them several times a year, in caravans, for protection against the savages of the desert in which they are situated. Although this salt costs nothing but the labor of carrying it away, the danger from the Indians, and the privations experienced in an expedition to the *Salinas* are such, that it is seldom sold in the capital for less than a dollar per bushel. On the same great plain, still a hundred miles further south, there is another *Salina* of the same character."

We pass over the account given by our author of the usages and manners of the present population of New Mexico, in order to turn to his description of the *Pueblos*, or villages composed of descendants of the native tribes, who have adopted the religion of their conquerers. At the time of the conquest, they are believed to have been quite numerous, occupying at least a hundred villages ; but the number of their villages is now reduced to twenty. They are a sober and industrious race, — given to few vices, except such as they have borrowed from the Spaniards, — by far the best horticulturists who are to be found in the country, and many of them owners of large numbers of horses and cattle. Their present number is believed not to exceed ten thousand. Each Pueblo is governed by a *cacique* or *gobernadocillo*, chosen by the inhabitants, but receiving his commission from the governor of New Mexico. Whenever any public business is to be transacted, the principal chiefs of the Pueblo are convened by the cacique, usually under ground, and all questions are decided by vote. Their proceedings are kept profoundly secret ; a good device for protecting the meeting from the infliction of interminable speeches. All subjects appertaining to the police of the village, and the preservation of morality and order, are within their jurisdiction. To them also belongs the right of electing a *capitan de guerra*, or commander, who is expected to defend the public interests alike in the council-chamber and the field. The people,

though not deficient in bravery, have no strong passion for war; such an inclination could hardly exist in connection with their habitual industry; but when engaged in hostilities, they are said to be ferocious and cruel, not, however, beyond the fashion and example of their Mexican neighbours. Since the period of the conquest, they appear to have degenerated; in the arts, the manufacture of cotton and woollen for example, they are inferior to their ancestors, as well as to the tribes that still retain their liberty.

Mr. Gregg devotes a considerable portion of his work to an account of his visit for commercial purposes to the department of Chihuahua, and its places of most prominent interest. This, with a geographical account of the prairies, and a general description of the Indians of the frontier and the prairies, occupies his second volume. The following account of a part of his Chihuahua expedition will give the reader an idea of his style :

"About twelve miles south of Carrizal there is one of the most charming warm springs, called Ojo Caliente, where we arrived the next day. It forms a basin some thirty feet long by about half that width, and just deep and warm enough for a delightful bath at all seasons of the year. Were this spring (whose outlet forms a bold little rivulet) anywhere within the United States, it would doubtless be converted into a place of fashionable resort. There appears to be a curious phenomenon connected with this spring. It proceeds, no doubt, from the little river of Cármen, which passes within half a mile, and finally discharges itself into the small lake of Patos before mentioned. All the water of this stream disappears in the sand several miles above the spring; and what medium it traverses in its subterranean passage to impart to it so high a temperature, before breaking out in this fountain, would afford to the geologist an interesting subject of inquiry.

"After fording the Rio Cármen, which, though usually without a drop of water in its channel, we now found a very turbulent stream, we did not meet with any object particularly worthy of remark, until we reached the *Laguna de Encillinas.* This lake is ten or twelve miles long by two or three in width, and seems to have no outlet, even during the greatest freshets, though fed by several small constant-flowing streams from the surrounding mountains. The water of this lake, during the dry season, is so strongly impregnated with nauseous and bitter salts, as to render it wholly unpalatable to man and beast. The most

predominant of these noxious substances is a species of alkali, known there by the name of *tequesquite.* It is often seen oozing out from the surface of marshy grounds, about the table-plains of all Northern Mexico, forming a grayish crust, and is extensively used in the manufacture of soap, and sometimes by the bakers even for raising bread. Here we had another evidence of the alarming effects of the recent flood, the road for several miles along the margin of the lake being completely inundated. It was, however, in the city of Chihuahua itself that the disastrous consequences of the freshet were most severely felt. Some inferior houses of *adobe* were so much soaked by the rains, that they tumbled to the ground, occasioning the loss of several lives." — Vol. II., pp. 80, 81.

Mr. Kendall's account of his adventures is already so generally known, through the medium of the public journals, that it is unnecessary to relate in much detail the circumstances to which he was indebted for much inconvenience and suffering, and his readers for his lively and entertaining volumes. Early in 1841, partly in consequence of impaired health, and partly impelled by a desire to have some experience of life in the wilderness, he resolved to undertake a tour upon the prairies. An agent of the government of Texas chanced to be at that time in New Orleans, where Mr. Kendall resided, with the view of purchasing supplies for an expedition to Santa Fé. The president, General Lamar, had received information, that the inhabitants of that portion of New Mexico which lies on the eastern side of the Rio Grande, claimed by Texas as her western boundary, were anxious to throw off their allegiance to Mexico ; and this expedition appears to have been designed to produce a revolution there, or, as it was more gently expressed, to give them an opportunity of throwing off the yoke ; but its ostensible purpose was, to open a direct trade with Santa Fé by a nearer route than the one usually pursued through the United States. To this end, the members of the expedition were to go prepared to act as soldiers or traders, as circumstances might render most convenient. The military alternative was not made known to Mr. Kendall until the expedition was fairly on its way to Santa Fé. In an evil hour, he attached himself to this ill-starred company, supposing that it might afford the facilities for sport and adventure of which he was in quest ; and he thus became the sharer of their fate. Mr.

Kendall is persuaded, that the expedition went forth with no hostile purpose against Mexico, and was provided with no greater armament than defence against the savages required. But he himself tells us, that, "on its arrival at its destined points, should the inhabitants really manifest a disposition to declare their full allegiance to Texas, the flag of the single-star republic would have been raised upon the government-house at Santa Fé"; and surely it is by no means marvellous, that Mexico should not regard this as a very friendly purpose; or, considering the relations subsisting between herself and Texas, should look upon such trading propositions as the Trojans looked upon the presents of the Greeks.

Mr. Kendall reached Galveston on the 19th of May. This was about a month before the expedition was ready for departure, and he employed the intervening time in seeing all he could of Texas. He has recorded the results of his observations in several chapters, to which circumstances since occurring have given greater interest than they possessed at the time of their publication, when the plan of our fraternization with its citizens had not become matter of earnest negotiation. Two hundred and seventy volunteers, divided into six companies, constituted the array, and they were accompanied by about fifty others, including General McLeod, the commander, and his staff, together with the Texan commissioners, merchants, tourists, and servants. Their tour through the wilderness was long and arduous, though not without scenes and incidents which afforded the author an opportunity for much animated and picturesque description. After passing, not without difficulty, the "Cross Timbers," a vast forest, from thirty to fifty miles in width, constituting, for hundreds of miles, the border which separates the western prairies from the woodlands of the settled parts of the United States, they reached, as they supposed, the Red River; and were confirmed in the supposition by a Mexican of their party, who professed himself familiarly acquainted with that stream. Whether he misled them intentionally, or not, does not appear; but, if he had been hired by his countrymen to betray his new associates, he could not have better served their purpose. Day after day, they went on under this erroneous persuasion, until they had come, as they supposed, within about eighty miles

of San Miguel ; there, a party of three persons were sent forward to procure supplies and inquire into the state of feeling in that quarter, while the main body quietly pursued its way. Some doubt of the correctness of their course began to dawn upon them ; but suffering, as they were, from hunger and thirst, and at a loss what direction to pursue, it was resolved to divide the party, by sending out a detachment of one hundred men, mounted, with instructions not to return until they should find the settlements. A more unfortunate measure could not well have been adopted ; it is hardly credible, that the officers should have been so deluded as to the reception they were likely to encounter at their journey's end. Mr. Kendall accompanied this detachment. Thus, in separate divisions, the whole company were marching to their doom ; the Mexicans, with honeyed words and professions of eternal friendship, first disarming, and then securing them as prisoners ; giving them the full benefit of the earlier experience of Sir John Hawkins, and the later fortune of General Pike.

Mr. Kendall maintains his good humor and liveliness so well, while encountering the various trials, some serious ones, too, of his passage of the prairies, that we regret our inability to present to our readers several of his animated sketches. Those who are at all acquainted with the prairies will understand the danger he describes in the following passage. He had, in company with a veteran hunter, pursued some deer, without being aware, that, when they once take the alarm, they can rarely be approached within gunshot.

" My experience, in comparison with that of the veteran borderer, was limited, and I was simple enough not to resist the temptation of following the herd over a roll of the prairie, in the vain hope of obtaining a shot. They halted, as I supposed they would, but were on the look-out; and before I was within three hundred yards, again bounded off across the prairie. Hope induced me to give one more trial, which terminated like the first. I now reluctantly gave up the chase, and cast my eyes about for my fellow-hunter ; but he was nowhere in sight. I tried hurriedly to ascertain the direction in which I had left him ; but the result of my reflections convinced me that I was, to use a common expression, thoroughly ' turned round,' — lost. I put spurs to my horse and galloped to the highest roll of the prairie,

with the hope of obtaining a sight of my companion or companions, but without success.

"A sickening feeling of loneliness came over me, on *finding* myself in that worst of all situations upon a prairie, — *lost!* The sun was still high in the heavens, and I could not tell which was north or which south. I had my rifle and pistols with me, was well mounted, and had a sufficiency of ammunition; but I was not well enough acquainted with a prairie life to steer a course, even if I had known what course to start upon. Neither was I hunter enough to feel confident that I could kill a sufficiency of meat, in case I should be unsuccessful in finding my companions. Another thing; I had already found out, what every hunter knows, that the more hungry a man grows upon the prairies the more unlikely he is to find game, and the more difficult it is to shoot it. There, then, I was, without a companion and without experience, — starvation staring me in the face; or even if I was fortunate in obtaining meat, I still was almost certain to be killed and scalped by the Indians, or end my days in vain efforts to reach the settlements. I thought of home, and made up my mind firmly, that, if ever I was fortunate enough to reach it, I should be in no particular hurry to leave it again.

"I dashed off to what appeared a still higher prairie swell than the one I now stood upon; nothing could I see, except a solitary wolf, trotting stealthily along in the hollow below me. I even envied this most contemptible of the brute creation, for he knew where he was. I strained my eyes as though to penetrate beyond the limits of human vision; but all was a waste, a blank. I leaped from my horse and sat upon the ground for a moment; it was only for a moment, for, in my uneasiness, I could not remain motionless. I tried to reflect, to reason; but so fast did thoughts of starvation and of Indian perils crowd upon my mind, that I could come to no definite conclusion as to my present position with reference to that of my companions. I tried to follow my own trail back to the point where I had so foolishly left "Old Paint"; but the ground was so hard, that my horse's hoofs had made little or no indentation, and I was too impatient to examine the face of the prairie with that searching scrutiny which might have resulted in success.

. . . . .

"'But,' the reader will perchance inquire, 'why did you not give your horse the reins, and trust to his natural sagacity for regaining his or your companions?' And again; 'Why did you not wait until the sun was low in the western heavens, then reflect, for one moment, in what direction the command was travelling, and the side on which you had left it? You knew that

the sun would set in the west, and that, as you had faced it, north was to the right and south to the left; surely you could then steer a course, even if you could not while the sun was vertical.'

"Gentle reader, you have never been lost on a wide ocean of prairies, unskilled in border life, and little gifted with the power of first adopting a course to follow, and then not deviating from it. You must recollect, that, there, as on the wide ocean, you find no trees, no friendly landmarks to guide you, — all is a wide waste of eternal sameness. *To be lost*, as I and others have experienced, has a complex and fearful meaning. It is not merely to stray from your friends, your path, but from yourself. With your way, you lose your presence of mind. You attempt to reason; but the rudder and compass of your reflective faculties are gone. Self-confidence, too, is lost; in a word, all is lost, except a maniacal impulse to despair, that is peculiar and indescribable.

"In my case, fate, fortune, good luck — call it by what name you may — stepped in to my assistance. While upon one of the highest rolls of the prairie, I resolved to proceed in a certain direction, and, if possible, to keep it without variation. Whether I did so, or not, I am unable to say; I only know, that after travelling at a rapid pace, it may be some five miles, I suddenly found myself upon the brow of a high and steep declivity, overlooking a narrow but beautiful valley, through which a small creek was winding. I had examined the prairies in every direction during my short ride, until my eyes ached from over-straining, yet had not for a moment allowed my horse to slacken his pace. I now paused to examine the valley before me. The reader may judge my feelings, when, after a hasty glance, I discovered the white tops of the wagons, far off in the distance to the right, slowly winding their way down a gentle slope into the valley. Never was the sight of friendly sail more welcome to the eye of a shipwrecked mariner than was the appearance of those wagons to me, and I fairly laughed aloud at my good fortune." — Vol. I., pp. 155 – 159.

We doubt whether Mr. Kendall would have laughed aloud, even after an escape like this, if he could have anticipated that which was about to befall him. It is unnecessary to be particular in recapitulating circumstances which are familiar to most readers. Mr. Kendall's passports, derived from the Mexican consul at New Orleans, did not protect him from the indignities and cruelty which were poured without measure on the heads of his fellow-prisoners. Armijo was at

this time governor of New Mexico, — a personage who appears to belong to the worst class of Mexican officials. By his orders, the prisoners were to march to the city of Mexico, escorted by a body of Mexican soldiers, under the command of a brutal officer, named Salbezar. Fortunately, when they reached El Paso, this man was arrested by the military commandant there, General Elias, on the charge of having murdered several of the Texans ; the full details of his inhumanity having been made known by the prisoners on their arrival. Before this time, they had experienced a kindness from the Mexican women, which gives a favorable impression of their character ; and at El Paso, the hospitality and kindness which they received from all are acknowledged in the warmest terms. The inconvenience, and even suffering, attending the privations and hardships of a long winter journey, under circumstances so disheartening as those of a prisoner of war, totally uncertain what his destiny might be in the hands of those whose military usages savor strongly of the barbarous, might have furnished a sufficient apology for the author, if his power of observation had been less keen than usual ; but it seems to have been always vigilant ; and we doubt whether a traveller, proceeding through the country at his leisure, would have exercised it with greater benefit and entertainment to the reader. The following is the account he gives of the general condition of the less favored citizens of the republic.

" The constitution of Mexico guaranties to all classes and colors the greatest liberty and equality ; the poorest peasant is protected, by the glorious panoply of the law, from every infringement upon his personal liberty ; and the most abject beggar in the land has rights and privileges which cannot be trampled upon by his neighbour, be he ever so powerful or wealthy. So much for the law and constitution in theory, — the practice is an entirely different matter.

" The traveller, who visits one of the larger estates in Mexico, finds, in the centre of it, a village, or collection of houses, large or small, in proportion to the quantity of land owned by the proprietor. Occupying the most conspicuous situation is the church, generally a strong stone building, surmounted by a tower or cupola, with a clear, silvery-sounding bell. The interior is decorated, perhaps, with statues of our Saviour, the Apostles, the Virgin, and the patron saint of the hacienda, executed in wood, and frequently arrayed most fantastically ; the walls are covered

with wretched copies of Scriptural paintings. Close by the church is the residence of the haciendero, or owner, a massive, strong, roomy, but comparatively unfurnished dwelling, in one of the front apartments of which is his store. Here the poor peons purchase their liquor, their cigars, and the little cloth that furnishes their raiment, and at prices the most exorbitant. Adjoining this house are the *trojes*, or barns, where the produce of the estate is stored, — strong, substantial buildings. Then come the rude adobe hovels of the common laborers, frequently having but one room, in which the whole family, father and mother, brothers and sisters, sons-in-law and daughters-in-law, huddle together upon one common earthen floor.

"And what relation do these people bear to the haciendero? They are many of them slaves, — slaves to all intents and purposes, although they may enjoy a nominal liberty. A large proportion of them, probably, are in some way indebted to the proprietor, the law giving him a lien upon their services until such debts are paid; but most especial good care does he take, that they never pay him their obligations so long as their services are any way profitable. They are in his debt, and are kept so until age or infirmity renders their labor unproductive; then the obligation is cancelled, and they are cast upon the world, to beg, steal, or starve, as best they may.

"Should some one of the peons, more active, ambitious, or enterprising than his fellows, chance to accumulate money enough to repay his debt and regain his liberty, — how then? He offers his master the price of his redemption; but the latter, upon some flimsy pretext, refuses to take it; he has not yet done with the services of the vigorous servant. The latter flies to the alcalde for redress. The law is on his side, equity is on his side, but the functionary who administers them is very likely a creature of the proprietor, and will not listen to the case of the slave, be it ever so just. The latter attempts to purchase justice by a bribe, but he is outbid by the haciendero. The alcalde shuts his eyes upon justice, opens his heart to the longer purse of the proprietor, and the unfortunate serf is once more driven to bondage. Such, so far as I could see and learn, was the state of things at many of the haciendas we passed upon our journey. The immense wealth, which has fallen into the hands of the few in Mexico, has given them a power over the numerous and abjectly poor which amounts nearly to that of the English barons under the feudal system. Never will there be a change in favor of the lower orders until a thorough and radical revolution takes place in the very nature of the inhabitants, or until the country falls into other hands." — Vol. II., pp. 112 – 114.

This, as a general description, may be rather strongly stated ; but there can be no doubt that it is substantially applicable, not only to Mexico, but to all the countries which have thrown off the yoke of Spain. The Spanish domination was no primary school, in which the principles of republicanism could be advantageously studied. Institutions resting on equality are not likely to be very stable where no equality exists ; and a long period of discipline will undoubtedly be requisite, in order to adapt the people to the institutions, or the institutions to the people. They have receded too far from monarchy to be able to endure it permanently now ; but they have, as yet, found little tranquillity under a system nominally republican.

At Queretaro, Mr. Kendall became acquainted with a description of currency, which has not passed into extensive circulation elsewhere.

"We had scarcely been ten minutes in the convent when we were visited by the usual crowd of venders of oranges and other fruits, women with tortillas, frijoles, and guisado, all anxious to dispose of their little stock in trade. Mr. Falconer picked out some half dozen oranges and sweet limes from the basket of a fruit-girl, and in payment handed her a dollar. There was not small coin enough among them all to change the dollar, and Falconer sent it out by a corporal, telling him to get it changed. The fellow shortly returned with *sixty-four cakes of soap*, tied up in a handkerchief. Falconer told the corporal he wanted *change*, not soap. The corporal replied, that it was the currency of the place, — legal currency, — and that there was no other. Such proved to be the case : and, however singular it may appear, soap is really a lawful tender in the payment of all debts, and our companion was compelled to keep this singular substitute in the way of change for his dollar. He could not very well pocket it, as there was nearly a peck in bulk.

"The cakes are about the size of the common Windsor shaving-soap, and each is worth one cent and a half, — in fact, a fraction more, as eight of them pass for twelve and a half cents, or sixteen for a quarter of a dollar. Each cake is stamped with the name of the town where it is issued, and also with the name of the person who is authorized by law to manufacture it as a circulating medium ; yet Celaya soap — for it also circulates in that city — will not pass at Queretaro. The reason I cannot divine, as the size and intrinsic value appear to be the same." — Vol. II., pp. 186, 187.

It was about the middle of September, 1841, that Mr. Kendall was made prisoner by the Mexicans. His journey to the capital did not terminate until the 9th of the following February, when he was committed to close confinement in the hospital of San Lazaro. Strong efforts were in the mean time made by his friends in the United States, and efforts, which he appears to think might well enough have been stronger, by our minister in Mexico, to procure his release. Both he and Mr. Gregg entertain the opinion, that the intervention of our diplomatic agents in cases of this kind is far less effectual than that of the representative of Great Britain ; probably the Mexican authorities are apprized, that the attention of our government at home is too much occupied with the great concerns appertaining to the welfare of party, to permit them to take much interest in other matters. General Thompson, however, the late minister, took a warm and active interest in procuring his liberation ; but just at the moment when this seemed to have been effected, he was transferred to Santiago, where a body of the Texans were imprisoned, and was there put in fetters. The reason of this change he does not know. It is probable, however, that the Mexican government could not be induced to believe that any man should have joined the Texan expedition with any other purpose than that of subverting their republic ; and doubtless his tour will be the last which will be made for some time in that direction merely for the sake of recreation. By the 21st of April, he was at length released, after an imprisonment of more than seven months, and, with as little delay as possible, travelled to Vera Cruz, where he embarked for this country, and arrived after an absence of about a year ; — a term filled up with more adventure and vicissitude than commonly fall to the lot of travellers in these piping times of peace.

After his liberation, the author continued his observations to good purpose, and with a spirit that does not seem to have been at all clouded by the trials he had undergone. Some traits in the Mexican character, which he describes, might well enough find imitators here. Among them, he says, —

"Poverty is certainly no crime, — is never insulted. The unfortunate mendigo, or beggar, is seldom or never spurned from the door of the rich ; but, on the contrary, his misfortunes entitle him at least to respect, if not to alms, and invariably both are

bestowed. No concealment of poverty is attempted ; — the poor Mexican family, unlike that of the American or English in similar circumstances, never impoverishes itself still farther by forced endeavours to conceal its real necessities. Of such hospitality as the Mexican dwelling affords the stranger is always invited to partake ; and, while the master frankly admits his poverty, he at the same time uses it as an excuse for the scantiness of the repast to which he invites his guest. The stranger is not told that his presence is unexpected ; that the butcher has neglected to furnish meat, with a threat to patronize him no more ; that the bread has just given out, and that there is no time to bake or send for a supply, or any of the thousand and one excuses a false and foolish pride invents in other lands, to conceal its indigence ; — nothing of the kind is resorted to. '*Somos pobres*,' — we are poor people, — is the honest admission made by the Mexican to cover any deficiency in his entertainment." — Vol. II., pp. 339, 340.

We are reluctant to lose this opportunity of reading a lecture upon the great question of "annexation," and our relations with Mexico, which circumstances have invested with no small importance ; but we have no doubt, that our readers will think it quite as well, that we have limited ourselves to an account of the narratives before us. In taking leave of Mr. Kendall, we feel bound to say, that his humor is not always such as could be wished ; but he is a liberal and keen observer, and an animated writer, and his volumes will be sure to give both entertainment and instruction.

ART. VIII. — *The History of the Puritans, or Protestant Non-conformists, from the Reformation in* 1517, *to the Revolution in* 1688 *; comprising an Account of their Principles ; their Attempts for a farther Reformation in the Church ; their Sufferings ; and the Lives and Characters of their most considerable Divines.* By DANIEL NEAL, M. A. Revised, corrected, and enlarged, with Additional Notes. By JOHN O. CHOULES, M. A. New York : Harper & Brothers. 1844. 2 vols. 8vo.

WE are pleased to see an American edition of this valuable work on political and ecclesiastical history, edited with

a care which insures the correctness of its statements, and placed at a price which brings it within the reach of the most humble book-collector. It is reprinted from the text of Dr. Toulmin's edition, containing his notes, illustrations, and corrections, and thoroughly revised by Mr. Choules, the American editor. It now forms, probably, the most complete, and, in the main, the most correct account of one of the most remarkable bodies of men that ever appeared in the world.

Mr. Choules has executed his task with marked ability. His notes give evidence of the care with which he has scrutinized the text of his author, and the extent of his researches into the literature and history of the periods he illustrates. He has consulted the most approved works on the subject, especially some which have been published since Dr. Toulmin's edition appeared ; and has rescued from oblivion many a choice sentence and pregnant fact, interred in old and rare pamphlets and tomes eaten by time. The editing of the book has evidently been a labor of love ; and much has been added to make us more familiar with the habits, manners, modes of thought, and principles of action, current among the Puritans, and to enable us to appreciate the position they occupied with respect to their contemporaries. Both of the editors are characterized by a love of religious liberty, and do not hesitate to give their author a little gentle correction when he slips from the principles of toleration. Both are Baptists ; Dr. Toulmin an Arian Baptist, Mr. Choules a Calvinistic one. In the notes of the former, some curious information is given respecting the Unitarians who were mingled among the persecuted non-conformists, and of the hot disputes which sometimes occurred between men confined in one prison, for one offence.

Mr. Choules occasionally allows a little acerbity to steal into his style, in referring to the pretensions of Episcopacy and Catholicism ; but not more than could be expected from a man who has devoted years to a tract of history, blasted by the fire of theological hatred, and red with the blood of the saints. It is almost imposible for any person, whose pulse leaps at the thought of senseless and brutal wrong, done to men whose only sin consisted in being purer and more honest than their contemporaries, to travel through circumstantial details of rapine and murder, without occasion-

ally letting loose his tongue, both at the perpetrators and at the systems under which such crimes were sanctified. Such little deviations from the bland and opinionless impartiality, with which such enormities should be contemplated, must be forgiven to those who edit narratives of religious feuds and persecutions.

The Rev. Daniel Neal, the author of the work, lived at a period when the ardor of theological dispute and recrimination had become allayed, and when the history of the Puritans could be written with the calmness requisite for truth and fairness. He was born in 1678, and died in 1743. The first volume of his history appeared in 1732. He was a clergyman of the old school of laborers, once so common in New England, writing two sermons a week for thirty years, devoting eight or twelve afternoons in the month to visiting his congregation, and after wearing out brain and body in the service of his people, dying at last with the pen literally trembling in his hand. Though, in his doctrinal sentiments, a Calvinist, and a sturdy defender of his creed, he appears to have been temperate and just to others, disliking warfare on points of faith, and especially opposed to that mode of argument which addresses the reason through penal laws and machines of torture. He was what the world, almost universally, would call a good man, — performing all the relations of life with exemplary fidelity, and presenting a character which infidelity could not but honor, and even licentiousness respect. We believe that he aimed conscientiously at truth in his history, and was incapable of a deliberate perversion of fact. The general fairness of his statements, though doubted at times, has never been successfully impugned. All the errors which criticism has discovered in his work arose either from the imperfection of his materials, or that unconscious bias towards his own party, from which the most candid minds are not always free. His character in every respect shines well, as contrasted with that of his opponents, Grey and Warburton, who brought in question his historical honesty. The candor of such a critic as Dr. Grey may be estimated by his edition of Hudibras, in which he seems to have taken great delight in prowling amidst the literary filth of Charles the Second's time, to rake up morsels of ribaldry, originally directed by sensualists and renegades against the Puritans, and which by the mercy

of the world, would otherwise have been allowed to rot out of existence. The fierce, unjust, domineering spirit of Warburton, whose vast learning was held in bondage to paradox and bigotry, and who passed to preferment and power through the gate of sycophancy, was not peculiarly fitted to criticise, or even consistently to abuse, such a man as Neal. At any rate, all the light which has been shed on the times since the original work was written has flowed freely into the minds of its editors, and any mistakes into which the author may have fallen have been rigorously corrected. As it now stands, it can be taken as a reliable history, in which matters of fact and matters of opinion are cautiously discriminated.

The style of Neal's work, if it does not evince a large command of expression, is still not deficient in many excellences. It contains numerous passages of that homely eloquence, which springs from simple earnestness of feeling, and finds its way directly to the heart. There is occasionally much felicity in the selection of words embodying homely fancies, and which convey the sense by suggesting an image. This characterizes, indeed, almost all the school of writers to which Neal belonged, and gives to many of the forgotten pamphlets of the last half of the seventeenth century a raciness of style more expressive than elegant. There is, at times, considerable picturesque quaintness in Neal, and not unfrequently a kind of half-suppressed irony, which relieve the business-like character of the general composition of his history. We have not found the book dull. By occasionally skipping or condensing an account of some Non-conformist preacher, in whose biography the author's pen is a little too liberal of ink, and disregarding a few abstracts of voluminous documents, we think it would please the general reader. The honesty and simplicity of the writer's nature shine clearly through his style, and give it an originality and freshness which it could not derive from a more scrupulous rhetoric and a less natural arrangement. In the narration of facts, the disposition of arguments, the compression of evidence, the review of disputed questions, and often in the keen criticism of motives, and clear insight into matters overladen with passion and verbiage, the style and the mind of Neal are displayed to great advantage. It is difficult to resist the conclusion, that the intention of the author in writing his work was not to serve any party or

private views, but that his object was, in his own words, to do "some service to the cause of truth, and to the religious and civil liberties of mankind."

We think the publication of this book timely, apart from its historical value and interest. The great principle on which rested equally the justice of the Reformation, and the Puritan secession, is now often called in question. Authority once more declares its right to supersede conscience. The thoughts and feelings of the tenth and fourteenth centuries are translated into the language of the nineteenth. Propositions, long considered as truisms, are now attacked as paradoxes. Archbishop Laud has his eulogists; Luther his detractors. The right of the individual mind to form its faith from the most thoughtful and candid perusal of the Bible is denied. All the blood that has been shed, all the tortures which have been endured, all the miseries which have been suffered, to convert this principle into an established fact, are thus implied to have been wasted. The world has been battling blindly to establish a great heresy, repugnant to right reason and to the word of God; and the inference is, that many of the martyrs have but "passed out of one flame into another." If this right of individual judgment be a mere figment of the brain, the wars into which it has led some of the best and noblest of the race are the greatest satires on human folly and depravity ever written in blood and consecrated by suffering and heroism.

We know and deprecate the evils of dissent, and the evils which flow from the unrestrained exercise of individual judgments in matters of religion. Atheism and fanaticism — the one denying, the other degrading, God — are the two pits into which the inquirer is liable to fall, who casts off authority and trusts to his own mind. The volumes before us are full of examples which tell against kirk as well as against church. Senseless doctrines, accompanied by bigotry equally senseless; hatreds taking the name of duties; passions wearing the guise of revelations; pride and conceit speaking the language of conscience, — these too often meet us among the zealots who were associated with the Puritans, and among all great bodies of men who have opposed religious hierarchies. The dunce and the enthusiast are ever ready to supplant the established superstition with the superstition of ignorance and heated passion. But evils as bad as these

cling to the best efforts of man, and arise from the imperfection of his nature. Besides, it should not be forgotten, that it is chiefly persecution that forces men into fanaticism. The dreams and ravings of zealots, wrought into uncontrollable excitement by the discipline of torture and confiscation, are arguments against the extravagant pretensions and wanton cruelties of the oppressors who drove them mad. That English liberty has been preserved and extended, that the rights of the human mind in matters pertaining to government, as well as religion, have not suffered a disastrous eclipse in the shadow of absolutism, is owing to the determined stand taken by the Puritans, as a body, for liberty of conscience, and to the indomitable energy with which they fought, with the sword and with the pen, against civil and ecclesiastical tyranny. There were evils accompanying non-conformity ; but who can compare them with those which must have followed a tame acquiescence in the exactions of the prelacy and the king ? It is too common to pass over these pioneers and martyrs of English freedom, and refer the results of their labors to the agency of less powerful and more selfish spirits. "How many earnest, rugged Cromwells, Knoxes, poor peasant Covenanters, wrestling, battling for very life, in rough, miry places, have to struggle, and suffer, and fall, greatly censured, bemired, — before a beautiful Revolution of Eighty-eight can step over them, in official pumps and silk stockings, with universal three-times-three ! "

In Neal's History, we have circumstantial accounts of the errors of both parties. We should be the last to apologize for those of the Puritans. Bigotry and exclusiveness derive no charm from being practised by persecuted sects. But we think a distinction is to be made between the intolerance of men who persecute to sustain themselves in office and dignity, and those who persecute from honest though mistaken views of the necessity of certain doctrines to salvation. Besides, persecution is a bad school in which to learn toleration. If a body of men be deprived of their dearest rights for professing conscientious opinions, it is natural that they should attach more importance to those opinions than if they were allowed their free exercise. It not only makes them more sturdy champions of their belief, but it leads them into intolerance towards others. The most impolitic course for a dominant party to pursue is, to array the passions on the

side of dissent. In England, it has ever been the fashion to support the established church, and discourage secession, by coercion and exclusion ; yet all that the state, the pillory, and civil disabilities have done is, to multiply dissenters, and widen the breach originally made. In the case of men like the Puritans, — men of iron, to whom all the principalities and powers on earth were as nothing compared with the commands of God, on whom worldly comforts and worldly miseries could not operate as temptations or dissuasives where the interests of religion were concerned, — such a course comes under that melancholy class of offences which are blunders as well as crimes. It has been eloquently remarked, by one of the most prominent statesmen of the age, that, " even when religious feeling takes a character of extravagance and enthusiasm, and seems to threaten the order of society, and shake the columns of the social edifice, its principal danger is in its restraint. If it be allowed indulgence and expansion, like the elemental fires, it only agitates and perhaps purifies the atmosphere ; while its efforts to throw off restraint would burst the world asunder."

Few religious writers have excelled Neal, either in ardor or argument for liberty of conscience. He has anticipated Macaulay in several propositions contained in his paper in the Edinburgh Review, on " Church and State " ; and, indeed, most of Macaulay's writings on the period of the Rebellion and the Protectorate evince a close study of Neal. Though the latter preserves a strain of decorous loyalty and contented submission to the settlement of the clashing claims of Churchmen and Dissenters by the Revolution of 1688, he has many sly thrusts at the injustice and imperfection of the laws. He takes the position, in one of his prefaces, that it is the office of the civil magistrate to protect his loyal subjects in the free exercise of their religion ; not to incorporate one religion into the constitution, and make conformity to that the test of loyalty and faith. He contends, that religion and civil government are distinct things, *and stand upon a separate basis.* " To incorporate one religion into the constitution, so as to make it a part of the common law, and to conclude from thence that the constitution, having a right to preserve itself, may make laws for the punishment of those that publicly oppose any one branch of it, is to put an effectual stop to the progress of the Reformation throughout the Christian world ; for by this reasoning our

first reformers must be condemned"; and he proceeds to show, that, if a subject of France wrote against Catholicism, he might, on the reasoning of Churchmen, be punished as a disturber of the public peace, because "Popery is supported by law, and is a very considerable part of their constitution."

The exercise of private judgment on matters of religion, if it sometimes produces superstition, more often overthrows error. It is that intellectual action among a people, which gives vitality to their worship and creeds. It prevents faith from degenerating into a ce emony, and transfers belief from the lips to the soul. It is almost the only limit to the besotted bigotry, or the smooth indifference, which so often accompanies unquestioned religious dogmas. It is always most active when the established form of religion is most tyrannical or most debased. And it is the school in which true manliness and true godliness of character are nurtured. The faith that has grown up in a man's soul, which he has adopted from his own investigations or his own inward experience, is the faith that sustains men in temptations and in the blaze of the fires of martyrdom. In faith like this, we perceive the heroic element in the character of the Puritans. It is this which endows their history with so many of those consecrations usually considered to belong exclusively to poetry and romance. To a person who sees through the mere shows of things, the annals of the Puritans are replete with the materials of the heroic. There is no aspect of human nature more sublime, than the spectacle of men daring death, and things worse than death, under the influence of inspiration from on high. Their actions, thus springing from religious principle, and connected by a mysterious link with the invisible realities of another world, impress us with a deeper veneration than we can award to the most tremendous struggles for terrestrial objects. That is no common heroism, which fears nothing but God's justice, which braves every thing for God's favor. That is no common heroism, which breasts the flood of popular hatred, which bares its forehead to the thunders of dominant hierarchies, which scorns alike the delusions of worldly pomp and the commands of worldly governments, which is insensible to the jeers of the scoffer and the curse of the bigot, which smites at wickedness girded

round with power, which is strong in endurance as well as in action, which marches to battle chanting hymns of devotional rapture, and which looks with an unclouded eye to heaven amid the maddening tortures of the rack. Men who have thus conquered the fear of death, the love of ease, the temptations of the world, who have subdued all the softer passions and all the sensual appetites to the control of one inflexible moral purpose, who have acted through life under the sense, that there is a power on earth more authoritative than the decisions of councils, and mightier than kings, are not the men whom worldlings can safely venture to deride, or for whom placid theologians can afford to profess contempt.

The debt of gratitude, which the world owes to the Puritans, for the stand they took for the rights of conscience and the liberties of mankind, has never been freely paid. Their influence on modern civilization, moral, religious, and political, has rarely been justly estimated. The austerity of their manners, the peculiarities of their speech and dress, the rigor of their creeds, have been allowed to divert attention from their manifold virtues. Yet it would be difficult to name any body of men, connected by a religious bond, that has been so fruitful, not merely in divines, but in warriors, statesmen, and scholars. Milton, Selden, Hampden, Cromwell, Eliot, Pym, Knox, Baxter, Bunyan, among many others eminent in action or speculation, are names which have become woven into the texture of history. In the department of theology, the labors of the Puritans have been absolutely gigantic ; and whatever may be the estimate of their importance, no one can fail to appreciate the prodigious masses of learning which they patiently piled up as defences of the gospel, and the acuteness and grasp of thought with which they often seized the darkest and most tangled questions of metaphysical divinity.

But it is in the position they occupy in English history, that we most delight to contemplate the Puritans. We believe, that, as a body, they were the most sincere and zealous advocates of the Reformation. The taint of selfishness, of political expediency, of worldly ambition and worldly lusts, is seen in the motives which influenced the secession of the Church of England from the Church of Rome. It was a political more than a religious movement. It had its first inspiration from appetite, not from conscience. We

reverence the Puritans for their honesty, in refusing to submit to the exactions of the new oppression, — for their dislike of any coquetry between Protestantism and Popery, — for their opposition to the mingling of temporal with spiritual interests, and to the coöperation of the church in the sins and corruptions of the state. Their stern and sturdy adherence to what they deemed the requisitions of conscience and the will of God will never cease to act as an inspiration to all who raise, in after times, the banner of revolt against accredited tyranny and established falsehood. Through the reign of Elizabeth, of James the First, of Charles the First, of Charles the Second, constantly pelted as they were with satire, and exposed to the most brutal wrongs and contumelies — with literature, fashion, taste, power, all arrayed against them,— they ever preserve those titles to respect, which cling to virtue and religion. Compared with the greedy politicians, the time-serving priests, the effeminate and dissolute courtiers, the venal writers, who honored them with their hatred or their ridicule, they loom up in almost colossal proportions, and frown rebuke on the corruptions of their age. We are not blind to their errors; we do not sympathize with their theology; we could wish that much of their enthusiasm had received a better direction, and that much of their piety had been accompanied by more kindliness of spirit ; but when we consider the trials they underwent, the school of persecution in which they were trained, the character of the abuses which they assailed, the meanness and baseness of too many of their adversaries, and the inestimable services they rendered to the world, their faults and errors seem to dwindle before the light of their faith, their virtue, and their heroic self-devotion.

The Puritans — there is a charm in that word which will never be lost on a New England ear. It is closely associated with all that is great in New England history. It is hallowed by a thousand memories of obstacles overthrown, of dangers nobly braved, of sufferings unshrinkingly borne, in the service of freedom and religion. It kindles at once the pride of ancestry, and inspires the deepest feelings of national veneration. It points to examples of valor in all its modes of manifestation, — in the hall of debate, on the field of battle, before the tribunal of power, at the martyr's stake. It is a name which will never die out of New England hearts.

Wherever virtue resists temptation, wherever men meet death for religion's sake, wherever the gilded baseness of the world stands abashed before conscientious principle, there will be the spirit of the Puritans. They have left deep and broad marks of their influence on human society. Their children, in all times, will rise up and call them blessed. A thousand witnesses of their courage, their industry, their sagacity, their invincible perseverance in well-doing, their love of free institutions, their respect for justice, their hatred of wrong, are all around us, and bear grateful evidence daily to their memory. We cannot forget them, even if we had sufficient baseness to wish it. Every spot of New England earth has a story to tell of them; every cherished institution of New England society bears the print of their minds. The strongest element of New England character has been transmitted with their blood. So intense is our sense of affiliation with their nature, that we speak of them universally as our "fathers." And though their fame everywhere else were weighed down with calumny and hatred, though the principles for which they contended, and the noble deeds they performed, should become the scoff of sycophants and oppressors, and be blackened by the smooth falsehoods of the selfish and the cold, there never will be wanting hearts in New England to kindle at their virtues, nor tongues and pens to vindicate their name.

ART. IX. — 1. *Remarks on the Seventh Annual Report of the Hon. Horace Mann, Secretary of the Massachusetts Board of Education.* Boston: Little & Brown. 1844. 8vo. pp. 144.

2. *Observations on a Pamphlet entitled "Remarks on the Seventh Annual Report,"* &c. [By GEORGE B. EMERSON.] Boston: Little & Brown. 8vo. pp. 16.

3. *Reply to the "Remarks" of Thirty-one Boston Schoolmasters on the Seventh Annual Report*, &c. By HORACE MANN, Secretary of the Board. Boston: Fowle & Capen. 8vo. pp. 176.

No inhabitant of Boston or its immediate vicinity needs to be informed of the causes and nature of the unhappy contro-

versy to which these pamphlets relate. For our readers at a distance, it may be well to say, that it has grown out of the generous and highly successful efforts of Mr. Mann and a small band of active coadjutors to improve the condition of the common schools throughout the State. For nearly eight years, he has devoted himself to the task with remarkable ability, industry, and zeal; and his exertions have been signally rewarded by results which, if not commensurate with his ardent hopes, have far surpassed all the expectations that any judicious observer could have formed at the outset, after a full view of the difficulties of the case. There is not a town nor a school district in Massachusetts, where his influence has not been felt; there is not one which has not largely profited by the spirit which he has excited, and by the improvements which he has introduced. New school-houses have been erected, and old ones much improved; appropriations of money to the purposes of education have greatly increased; seminaries for teachers have been established; improved systems of instruction and discipline have been introduced; the number of scholars is multiplied, and they are far more regular in their attendance at school; and finally, an interest in the subject has been awakened, which promises still more brilliant and useful results.

Mr. Mann has not done all this; but he has had so large a share in it, that his name is identified with the work. Others have seconded his efforts, but he has borne the burden and the heat of the day. The liberality of a few persons — we may almost say, the munificence of one man — has supplied the pecuniary means for the enterprise. The members of the Board of Education have labored diligently for the cause, and others have zealously coöperated with them, giving what portion of their time and toil could be spared from other employments. But the Secretary of the Board has devoted to the task all his time, and all the talents with which God has gifted him. By travelling about and lecturing in the towns and villages, by tendering advice wherever it was needed, by constantly pressing the subject on the attention of the legislature and the other authorities of the State, and by writing letters, essays, circulars, and reports, he has stimulated the slothful, encouraged the timid, strengthened the weak, instructed the ignorant, and infused a

portion of his own kindling enthusiasm into the mind of every man whom he could reach by his writings or his voice. Through him the profession of the teacher has risen in dignity and importance, and the interests of the common district schools have become attractive enough to draw off the attention of men for a while from the prospect of a change in the tariff or the election of a president.

We state these things strongly, perhaps, but not more strongly than is warranted by the facts, and proved by a cloud of witnesses. We state them as they would appear to an intelligent foreigner, to whom they were all communicated at once, and for the first time. What would such a stranger think, if he was further informed, that the instructers of the public grammar-schools in the capital of the State — persons who had witnessed all the efforts of Mr. Mann and their results, who had profited by his suggestions, whose profession he had exalted, and whose hands had been strengthened in their work by the zeal which he had kindled — had recently published a long and elaborately written pamphlet, in which they not only questioned his opinions and arguments, but assailed his character and motives, denied the good which he had accomplished, and depreciated the utility of the enterprise in which he was engaged? We need not answer this question; the feelings as well as the judgment of every reader will furnish a sufficient reply. But the publication of the pamphlet in question is such a strange phenomenon, that it is worth while to look a little closer into its history and the causes which produced it.

In May, 1843, Mr. Mann embarked for Europe, in order to recruit, by travelling, his broken health, and to study the systems of public instruction in foreign countries. He remained abroad about six months, and, as might be expected from the ardor of his temperament and his devotion to the cause of education, he gave nearly the whole of this time to the examination of the school systems, and of the institutions of instruction and beneficence, in the countries that he visited. On his return, he published the results of his observations in his "Seventh Annual Report," to which we have already twice invited the attention of our readers. It was a striking and valuable production, written with great freshness and energy of style, abounding with curious facts and lively descriptions, and, above all, animated throughout

by the life-giving earnestness and enthusiasm of the writer. It had faults, certainly. Many of the inductions were hasty; some descriptions were overwrought; strong feeling was sometimes more visible than sound judgment; and novelties were too frequently caught up and recommended as improvements. The language was often unguarded, and a spirited account of some striking feature in a European establishment, which Mr. Mann intended merely to describe, without either approving or condemning it, was not unfrequently construed into an earnest expression of judgment in its favor. We have already expressed our dissent from some of the opinions avowed in the Report; and one of them, in particular, respecting the proper mode of teaching the deaf and dumb, we recently combated most strenuously, believing it to be unsound in theory, and likely to be very injurious if reduced to practice. But this was done, we trust, with no lack of courtesy and deference towards him,* and with what appeared to be an abundant array of facts and arguments in support of our position. Yet we shall hardly be counted in the ranks among Mr. Mann's uncompromising and vehement admirers.

The teachers of the Boston grammar-schools had never regarded with much favor the proceedings of the Board of Education and its Secretary. Their schools, supported by the liberal and intelligent population of a great city, did not need the sweeping and energetic measures of reform, which it was necessary to carry into the small and indolent districts in the country. We speak now of their condition in 1838, when the Board commenced its labors. They were, in the main, excellent institutions. The people of Boston were proud of them, — not as being all that was desirable, but as far superior to those which existed in the other great cities of the Union. Improvements in them were possible, and were made from time to time, though slowly, and with the caution that is always proper in conducting experiments upon large establishments, where great interests are at stake, and the harm done by unsuccessful trials is considerable. The system pursued in them thus naturally tended to become mechanical, and the instructers inclined to conservatism, and

* Mr. Mann, we are surprised and sorry to perceive, from a note to the seventy-first page of his "Reply," thinks differently; but we are quite willing to leave the point to the judgment of our readers.

perhaps to indolence. Still, regarding their comparatively prosperous condition, the Board properly directed their chief attention to the waste places in the smaller towns and country villages. Mr. Mann did something for the Boston grammar-schools, and, as we have already said, the indirect influence of his labors, so far as these schools were concerned, was extensive and beneficial. But the great scene of his exertions and triumphs was along the highways and by-paths of the country, — in the towns of secondary magnitude, and the smallest villages, — in the interior, and the remote corners of the State at large. In his annual reports, he alluded but seldom to the Boston schools, and was cautious about pressing his advice upon their boards of supervision. His course in this respect was at once wise and delicate.

But the spirit excited by his indefatigable labors and eloquent voice was ardent, generous, and uncompromising. He created a thirst for reform, which was sometimes undiscriminating, and which began to extend into the city. In view of the great progress made in other places, people began to ask, if the teachers and guardians of the Boston schools were not asleep. These institutions had not degenerated; they had even improved, though very slowly; but they had lost much of their relative preëminence. Roxbury, and Salem, and Newburyport were beginning to shame the capital of the State. The people of Boston are proud and impatient, and they began to call aloud for reform, without counting the cost, or knowing very well in what the improvement was to consist, or how it was possible. Contradictory plans of change and amelioration were pressed upon the attention of the instructers from all quarters, sometimes by persons whose zeal far outran their discretion. Confused and uneasy under this state of things, the Boston teachers began to look with a very jealous eye upon the proceedings of the Board of Education, and the terrible activity of its Secretary. They felt uncomfortable under this pressure from without, — under the diminished comparative reputation of their schools, — under the consciousness that they were rather falling behind a movement which they ought to lead. They ascribed the disagreeableness of their position to the officious zeal of Mr. Mann, and began to question the wisdom of his measures, and to doubt whether he had accom-

plished any great good after all. As yet, they offered no active opposition, but manifested great coldness towards the Board of Education and its all-efficient officer. The flame was pent up in their bosoms, but it was gathering strength there, and was ready to burst forth when the hour should come.

The occasion for its outbreak was furnished by the publication of the "Seventh Annual Report." The lively pictures contained in that Report of excellent public schools in other countries; the portraits, somewhat idealized, of able and indefatigable teachers; the startling accounts of wonderful results effected by small means; the vivid description of plans of instruction and discipline, wholly unlike our own, and often no better; the spirit-stirring appeals to Americans, if they valued their political institutions, or prized the dearest interests of the human race, to amend and enlarge their systems of public instruction; in fine, all the striking facts and glowing rhetoric of the Secretary bewildered and provoked the teachers of the Boston schools. They were rudely waked from their self-complacent dreams, and made to know, to their great astonishment, that their schools were not exactly the best in the world. They had no direct cause of offence. The Secretary did not even allude to them in his Report, for he knew that comparisons are odious, and he was cautious not to excite ill-feeling. But his readers made the application fast enough. The Boston teachers saw, that they were likely to lose a large share of the reputation they had inherited, and to be beset by still stronger importunities for reform. Thus urged, they resolved to quit their neutral position, and to act vigorously in the offensive. They would appear as the champions of conservatism, and do battle stoutly against the radical and innovating tendencies of the times.

Their plan of operations was curious enough. They wished to act in solid column, so that they might make up in numbers what they might lack in individual skill and prowess. Only one person could hold the pen at a time; but his assertions and arguments might be backed by the authority and signature of all the others, all differences of opinion among themselves being sacrificed for the laudable purpose of crushing a single opponent by the force of many. The weaker portions of the Report — measures recommended

to be tried, perhaps, as proper experiments, and not with a positive conviction of their utility — were to be picked out, and their inexpediency shown, not by way of serving the cause of education through the prevention of ill-judged innovations, but in order to discredit the judgment of the Secretary. Accounts of some striking but objectionable peculiarities of a few European schools, — the rabid activity and volubility of teachers and pupils in Scotland, for instance, — peculiarities which Mr. Mann declares he never recommended for adoption here, but described "their fervid life [only] as a phenomenon, or spectacle," — were to be held up and denounced, in order to alarm and prejudice the public mind against the writer. These points were to be considered separately, the teachers selecting from among themselves the individual who was thought to be most conversant with each subject, and appointing him to write upon it; and the piebald "Remarks," thus prepared in partnership by four different hands, were to be attested by the signatures of the whole body.

Certainly, if any individual differed in opinion from Mr. Mann on a particular subject, he had a perfect right to express that difference in print, — to unfold his objections, and to scrutinize as sharply as he pleased the positions and the arguments which he deemed unsound. The publications of the Board of Education neither enjoy nor claim any immunity from criticism. He might publish his remarks either anonymously, or under his own name; in either case, the reflecting and judicious portion of the public would attribute to them only the intrinsic weight which was their due, without any regard to the character or profession of the writer. A bad argument is not converted into a good one, when uttered by high authority. But why unite the remarks of many into one publication, and attest the quality of the compound by the signatures of the whole party? Who constituted the "Association of Masters of the Boston Public Schools" a board of supervision and criticism upon the official reports of a public functionary, or upon all works on education that issue from the press? They never assumed this office before; why take it up now? They were not summoned into court in a body. They were not called to give their united testimony upon any question of fact. The "Report" was not addressed to them; the question

was not formally proposed to them, whether they would adopt the suggestions contained in it. In most instances, they had not even the power to adopt them, if they would. It is the province, generally, of the school-committee, and not of the masters, to decide whether certain changes are requisite in the organization and management of the schools. In fact, Mr. Mann did not propose any. He wrote with a chief reference to the common district schools in the country, — the objects of all his former efforts, — for which his office was created, — the scene of his toils and the source of his reward. He did not attack the Boston teachers, either as a body, or as individuals ; he did not write for them, except in that general sense in which he may be said to write for all persons in the State, who feel an interest in the instruction of the young. He made no allusion to the Boston schools ; he does not mention the name of the city in his Report, except incidentally, and where the name of any other place of equal population would have served as well. Why, then, we ask again, do the Boston teachers appear *in a body* to censure his Report ? The homely adage is applicable here : *Mind your own business.*

On the grave questions respecting modes of instruction and discipline in schools, which are at issue between Mr. Mann and his accusers, it is very astonishing that a large body of teachers should be found to harmonize so perfectly in opinion as to be able to sign the same declaration of faith. On two of these vexed questions — the proper mode of teaching children to read, and of inculcating the duty of obedience — it would be quite remarkable to find two persons who hold precisely the same views. Unanimity of opinion among thirty-one must be either forced or deceptive. We are not left in doubt upon this point in the present case. The masters intimate, in their prefatory note, that there were " shades of difference in opinion on some points." What an admission is this ! They were ready to sacrifice their honest belief on some points, for the sake of uniting in an attack upon the Secretary. They have affixed their signatures to a creed, portions of which were repugnant to their reason or their conscience, for the purpose of bearing down one dissentient by the force of numbers. A recent event has placed in a striking light the injustice — the wickedness — of such a course. One of their number, whose reputation for

integrity and ability stood so deservedly high, that his friends could hardly trust the evidence of their senses when they saw his name appended to the "Remarks," has since more than atoned for his fault by publicly retracting his signature, — avowing that he disliked the tone and object of the pamphlet from the outset, but was in a measure compelled to sign, contrary to the dictates of his better judgment, by the urgency of his associates. We need not hesitate, then, to declare our conviction, that, for the purposes of this publication, the teachers were banded together in a manner which partakes of the guilt of a conspiracy. It was one of those illegal and unjustifiable "combinations," which, as every pupil in a large seminary understands, ought to be punished *as such*, without regard to the nature or propriety of the object which is sought to be obtained by them.

It is not necessary to examine very minutely the several parts of this remarkable joint-stock publication. It is an old maxim in law, that the plaintiff must come into court with clean hands, — that is, with an honest ostensible purpose, and in a fair manner, — or the tribunal will not listen to his complaint. Now, by associating themselves in this strange way, and for such an object, the teachers have in fact deprived themselves of any right to be heard on the subjects in controversy. We may say to the writers of the sections on the Prussian school systems, on the modes of teaching children to read, and on school discipline, that, as their remarks are published together, and at this particular time, not for the purpose of enlightening the public on these topics, but in order to injure the reputation of Mr. Mann, and to lessen the confidence of people in the usefulness of the Board of Education, they do not deserve examination and criticism. They are all vitiated by the ulterior and wrongful purpose with which they were prepared ; they are all parts of an attack upon an individual ; they fall under the law which forbids personalities in a debate, the utterer of them being rightfully silenced and compelled to sit down. No matter if portions of them are written with decency and good taste and judgment ; no matter if some of the questions are argued with ability ; — by affixing their names to the whole document, they have made themselves responsible for every part of it ; and it contains enough coarse insinuation, unfair argument, and unfounded abuse, to cause

the whole paper to be ruled out of court. The admission is of little moment, then, to the teachers, but sincerity compels us to say, that on several of the topics discussed we think they are in the right, and have the best of the argument.

The first portion of the "Remarks," which extends over thirty-eight pages of the pamphlet, is captious, vulgar, and abusive. It abounds with glaring misrepresentations of Mr. Mann's opinions, and with remarks calculated to throw odium upon him and the Board of Education, and to excite the prejudices of the ignorant. The writer has not even any professed object in view, except this illiberal and odious purpose. He discusses no question about plans of discipline and instruction; he brings forward no theory in opposition to the views of Mr. Mann; he seems hardly aware that there are any topics connected with the management of schools, which require close examination and sober argument. But he multiplies authorities to prove the high character of the Boston schools, which Mr. Mann never denied, and he manifests a foolish jealousy of the Normal schools, lest some of the pupils educated in them should hereafter obtain situations as instructers by displacing himself and his associates. He may well be left, therefore, to the severe castigation inflicted upon him by Mr. Mann in the "Reply."

Of the other three portions of the "Remarks," if it were not for the consideration already mentioned, we should speak with mildness, and even with respect. They contain some forced constructions of Mr. Mann's language, a few inaccuracies of statement, and some harsh criticisms. But these faults are among the almost necessary evils of controversy. Generally, each writer attaches himself to his particular theme, and reasons upon it with at least an ordinary share of candor and ability. The examination of the Prussian modes of instruction is the feeblest portion of the three, and contains the most objectionable matter. It is very imperfect, but few of the peculiarities of the Prussian system being considered at all, and these without any clear conception of their character and tendency. But much that is said in defence of the proper use of text-books in school, in opposition to the Prussian fashion of lecturing at great length without book, appears to be sound, and ought to be duly weighed by instructers and committees who have charge of the subject.

We have great confidence in the power of a voluble lecturer to amuse his class, but not so much faith in the accuracy of the ideas thus obtained, or in their hold upon the memory of the pupils.

The next part, on the proper mode of teaching children to read, is much better. The writer holds to the old method of teaching first the letters of the alphabet, and then their combination into words; Mr. Mann advocates the comparatively novel plan of making the child familiar at first with the appearance of a number of words in writing or print, and then teaching him to resolve these compounds into their elements, and thus to acquire a knowledge of the alphabet. We agree with the writer of the "Remarks," on the general principle that it is best to teach elementary things first, or to know the parts of which a thing is composed, before we study the whole. *Belier, mon ami, commencez par le commencement.* In learning to read, there seems to be the same reason for acquiring first a knowledge of the alphabet, that there is, in the study of mathematics, for placing the multiplication table before instruction in algebra, or, in building a house, for beginning with the foundation rather than the ridgepole. Doubtless, the child is more amused at first by learning the appearance in print of words already familiar to his ear, than by studying that abstruse problem, the alphabet; but sooner or later, this task, also, must be accomplished, and it is not very apparent how the prefatory work or amusement will materially lessen the difficulties of the unbreeched philosopher. At any rate, as children may unquestionably be taught to read on either plan, the only question between them seems to relate to the saving of time; and in all the instances that have fallen under our notice, the child has been enabled to take this first great step in knowledge quite as soon as was at all desirable. The matter, then, may properly be left to the judgment or the fancy of each instructer.

Respecting the last portion of the "Remarks," on school discipline, we gladly borrow the language of Mr. G. B. Emerson, the powerful and hearty friend and coadjutor of Mr. Mann, by saying, that it is "a very able, well considered, temperate, and thorough examination of that subject." It seems strange, at first sight, that there should be any discussion on this point between the teachers and the Secretary,

for their general views certainly coincide. Mr. Mann has "always defended the resort to physical coercion, after moral means had been tried and failed"; and he emphatically rejects the doctrine, that, "*in the present state of society*, punishment, and even corporal punishment, can be dispensed with, by all teachers, in all schools, and with regard to all scholars." The opinion of the Teacher is, that, when "the spirit of opposition is too strong to be overruled by *those higher and more refined motives, upon which we should always rely when they are active*, we are left without resource unless we appeal to fear." When both parties admit so much, it is difficult to see any ground which remains to be contested between them. The "disputed territory" is evidently of quite small size and very trifling value. But the mischief and the sin of controversy, when personal feeling is once excited, is to make mountains out of molehil s. Agreeing substantially in opinion, Mr. Mann and the Teacher still look at the subject from different sides, and are marching in opposite directions. The latter, harassed and fatigued, probably, by the necessity of preserving order and submission among four or five hundred rude boys, collected from the streets and alleys of a great city, over whom he has no control except during six or seven hours of the day, looks with uneasiness and alarm upon any effort to discredit that ancient symbol of his office, the rod, and thus to deprive him of his last resort — the *ultima ratio* of the schoolmaster. He says with some pathos, "We complain of this disposition to render necessary but irksome measures more irksome, and even odious, by thus dwelling upon and exaggerating their abuses." On the other hand, the fine humanity and enthusiasm of the Secretary, regarding affection, the sense of duty, the love of knowledge, and the love of truth, as the only proper motives of conduct, lead him to plead earnestly against the practice of compelling submission by stripes, though, with a generous inconsequence, he thereby falsifies his own admissions. Whatever error there may be in either of these courses, we cannot find it in our hearts to censure it with great severity. It is a case for mutual explanation and concession; for the exercise of that charity, which seeks to enter into the feelings of an opponent, and to understand the difficulties of his situation, and especially to refrain from the use of language which will embitter the one or increase the other.

We have already alluded to Mr. Emerson's pamphlet, and would here express our deep regret, that all the parts of this lamentable controversy have not been conducted with the admirable temper and discretion which dictated his excellent "Observations." No person has a better right to be heard with attention and respect upon all the questions here at issue. He has long enjoyed well merited fame as the head of one of the best institutions for education in the United States. But the numerous cares of such an office have not absorbed his time, or exhausted his zeal for the cause of learning and sound morals. From the outset, he has been a most active and efficient adviser and assistant of the Board of Education and its Secretary, and has spared neither time nor toil, neither his pen nor his person, for the advancement of the great purpose which they have in view. Whenever the work or the agents in it have been attacked from motives of self-interest, fanaticism, or prejudice, he has stood forward as a strong champion in their defence. In the pamphlet now before us, he has rebuked, even with warmth and sternness, the unjustifiable joint attack of the Boston teachers upon Mr. Mann. But he has also spoken the truth in love, with candor, prudence, and good taste. Though some of the coarse insinuations of the teachers were directed against himself, there is no bitterness in the "Observations," no unwise aggravation of the matters in dispute. Yet no person of right feelings and sound judgment can read his remarks, and not be disposed to cast strong censure upon the conduct of the schoolmasters, and to do whatever in him lies for the support and encouragement of Mr. Mann in his noble enterprise. Mr. Emerson's eloquent vindication of the measures of the Secretary, and his noble appeal to all parties to forget their differences and unite with each other in helping forward the great cause, we trust, will be heard and answered by every true-hearted man in the State.

If Mr. Mann has not written his "Reply" with equal prudence, the fault must be attributed to the ardor of his attachment to the cause, and to the magnitude of the provocation he had received. He has not only amply vindicated himself, but has retorted upon his assailants with terrible severity. Though he dislikes the use of the rod for children, he evidently has no objection to whipping schoolmasters, and in this case, he has certainly plied the birch with remarkable

dexterity and strength of arm. If the reader does not constantly keep in mind the unprovoked nature of the attack, and the importance of the interests which it was meant to injure, he is tempted to pity the unhappy persons exposed to such a merciless punishment. The "Reply" is nervous and eloquent; but it is written, perhaps, with too much vehemence, and with rhetoric that is rather flowing and brilliant, than tasteful or correct. As a justification of the writer's own course, and of the measures of the Board of Education, it is unanswerable; no person, we think, will be hardy enough again to assail either. Here Mr. Mann stands on firm ground, the purity of his intentions being unquestionable, and the works which he has accomplished bearing witness both to the wisdom and the energy of his conduct. His opponents are silenced, at any rate, if they are not convinced.

With respect to the discussion into which he has entered, of the several plans of instruction and discipline in the schools, it is necessary to speak more doubtfully. He had a perfect right, as we have shown, to put aside these questions altogether on the present occasion; on the ground, that his opinions had been assailed, not in order to elicit or defend the truth, but to excite odium against him as a public officer, and to prejudice the cause in which he was engaged. This, we think, would have been the wisest course. But having consented to waive this privilege, and to meet his opponents on their own ground, he was bound to reason with candor, good temper, and good faith, — not to blend argument with invective, nor to attempt to damage the reasoning of his adversaries by charging upon it the impropriety of their conduct, or the baseness of their motives. Argument is always to be answered as such, or else not answered at all. Having once stepped into the ring with his opponents, Mr. Mann was bound to forego all the advantages of the position he occupied while out of it, — to reason, not as an injured and provoked person, but as an ingenuous and dispassionate seeker after the truth, — with sober language and sound logic. We would not intimate, by any means, that he intended to transgress this obvious rule. His honesty of purpose shines out through the whole "Reply," with a light that cannot be mistaken. But he was troubled and excited, not more by the aggravated assault upon his character and

motives, than by his own earnest conviction of the truth and importance of the doctrines he was defending. An ardent and generous mind *cannot* reason dispassionately under these circumstances. Logic runs into rhetoric; refutation gives place to invective; declamation is substituted for plain statements of fact; and the whole argumentation becomes vicious and unsound.

It is painful to charge even these involuntary mistakes upon the Secretary; but having censured so explicitly and severely the conduct of the teachers, it is due to them that the whole truth should be told. We have already quoted the opinion of Mr. Emerson respecting the fourth portion of the "Remarks," on the subject of school discipline. The following is a specimen of the manner in which Mr. Mann speaks of this portion of the schoolmasters' pamphlet:

"I have read most of what has been written in the English and French languages on the subject of education, besides many of the multitudinous works issued from the German press; and I say, deliberately and advisedly, that if all the unfeeling and cold-hearted doctrines contained in so much of the school literature of these several languages as I have seen were collected together, it would not equal a tithe of what is to be found in the last forty pages of the 'Remarks.'" — *Reply*, p. 142.

This is strong language to be used "deliberately and advisedly"; it is in striking contrast with the opinion of Mr. Emerson, and we must avow our own conviction, that it is wholly unjust.

We will add another citation from the same part of the "Reply," as it contains Mr. Mann's comments on a sentence which we have once before quoted.

"The 'Remarks' say, — where 'the spirit of opposition is too strong to be overruled by those higher and more refined motives upon which we should always rely when they are active, we are left without resource unless we appeal to fear.' I deny that any Christian man, or any enlightened heathen man, is left without resource, under such circumstances, 'unless he appeals to fear.' He has the resource of *conscience*, which is no more extinguished in the child's soul by the clamorous passions that, for a time, may have silenced its voice, than the stars of heaven are annihilated by the cloud which for a moment obscures them from our vision. He has the resource of *social and filial affections*. He has the *love of knowledge and of truth*, which never, in all its

forms, is, or can be, eradicated from a sane mind. If the teacher is what he ought to be, he has the resource of a *pure and lofty example* in his own character; and he moves before the eyes of his pupils as a personification of dignity and learning and benevolence. What a damning sentence does a teacher pronounce upon himself, when he affirms that he has no resources in his own attainments, his own deportment, his own skill, his own character; but only in the cowhide and birch, and in the strong arm that wields them!" — *Reply*, p. 135.

This is very strange. What are appeals to "conscience," to the "social and filial affections," to the "love of knowledge and of truth," to "pure and lofty example," but attempts to influence conduct by "those higher and more refined motives *upon which we should always rely* when they are active"? It is difficult to see how a teacher pronounces a "damning sentence" on himself, who never attempts to excite fear till he has vainly tried *all* these gentler and purer means.

The Teacher makes some comments on a fact stated in the "Seventh Annual Report," that, in the course of the writer's visits to the Prussian schools, he "never saw one child undergoing punishment or arraigned for misconduct." The Teacher observes:

"Should the Prussian Minister of Public Instruction see fit to honor the schools of this country with a visit, we presume he would not be shocked with a single exhibition of cruelty or anger. The teachers, we doubt not, would find other means of entertaining him. And even if some thoughtless pupil should need a word of caution, it might effectually be given, without appearing to a stranger, and especially to a *foreigner*, as an *angry* word. The mildest terms may portend dire consequences to the disobedient." — *Remarks*, p. 110.

On this brief, and, as it seemed to us, quite inoffensive, remark, Mr. Mann makes the following comment:

"The case supposes the presence of a visiter, to whom a fair outside is to be exhibited. It supposes also that, under such circumstances, some 'thoughtless pupil' may need a word of caution; and it avers that this might be 'effectually' given, without appearing to be an '*angry* word.' It is then added, 'The mildest terms may portend dire consequences to the disobedient.' In common acceptation, as well as by lexicographical definition,

'*dire*' means 'dreadful,' 'horrible,' 'evil in a great degree.' 'Hydras, and gorgons, and chimeras *dire*,' says Milton; and the '*Dirœ*' of the ancients were the Furies of hell. By what conventional rules, by what settled laws of custom and usage, in the thirty-one Grammar and Writing Schools of Boston, or in any of them, has it come to pass, that the 'mildest' accents of gentleness and love — and those intended to 'appear' such to a 'stranger' — should shake the heart of a pupil with consternation, for the 'dire consequences' they 'portend'? Whence this profanation of the words and tones of affection; whence this execrable hypocrisy, and this open, unblushing avowal of it? Was the utterer of this sentiment unconscious of its baseness, or did he so far mistake the moral sense of this community as to suppose it could pass without rebuke? How has it come to pass, that when a teacher passes round among his pupils, in the presence of visiters and strangers, and, to all outward appearance, says cheeringly, and in the 'mildest' tones, to a young master, 'Well, my fine fellow,' or 'My dear," to a young miss, they should know that, as soon as those visiters are in the street, their limbs will be girdled with stripes? If this sentence, about the 'mildest terms' being portentous of 'dire consequences,' were read to the Thirty-one, without rousing a dissenting voice, then I believe they are the only thirty-one men to be found in the city of Boston who could hear it unmoved. Let me say, that it is doctrines on the subject of 'School Discipline' like those contained in the 'Remarks,' and practices conformable to them, which, in so many places, have degraded the sacred name of *school teacher;* and made that most intrinsically honorable of all appellations a hissing and a by-word among men." — *Reply*, pp. 157, 158.

Surely, this is a very harsh construction of the Teacher's language. If a distinguished stranger — a foreign minister, for instance — should visit one of our Boston schools, we should think it was a proof, not of "execrable hypocrisy," but of decency and good taste in the master, not to annoy his visiter by any painful exhibition of the details of discipline, but to postpone the infliction of any punishment that might be necessary to a more convenient season. On occasion of a public visitation of a seminary, it is quite common to have the apartment swept and garnished with particular care, and the walls ornamented with some simple arrangement of flowers and green branches. Would it not be harsh to charge the instructer, on this account, with prac-

tising hypocrisy and deceit, and laboring to give his visiters a false idea of the neatness and order commonly preserved in the establishment? To dwell upon and exaggerate the meaning of the word "dire," by connecting it with horrible ideas of gorgons, and chimeras, and the Furies, is as ludicrous as it is unjust. Every reader gifted with common sense must perceive, that the phrase "dire consequences" is here used by the teacher in a half playful sense, implying a state of mind which is the very opposite of bitterness and severity.

In the notice which introduces the "Remarks" occurs the following sentence. "The teacher, who has stood for many years, 'himself against a host' of five or six hundred children from all ranks and conditions of society, thinks he may once ask a hearing before the public." The morsel of a quotation in this sentence is not in very good taste, but it seems inoffensive enough. Fatigued and harassed by his unremitting duties, the teacher might well claim some sympathy, on the ground that he has so long stood alone "*against* a host" of children, though each one of his pupils, individually, was to him an object of strong affection. Few would think of finding in this casual expression any sign of opposition, loathing, or hostility towards those who were intrusted to his charge. Yet Mr. Mann comments upon it as follows:

"Before the vestibule, in the outer court of this temple which the Thirty-one have reared and consecrated to education, is the following inscription: 'The teacher who has stood for many years, "himself against a host" of five or six hundred children.' Yes; '*against* a host'! — not *for*, not *with*, but *adversely* to; — not as a guide and counsellor, but, 'for many years,' as a combatant and antagonist! — the whole presenting the image of belligerent forces and a hostile array, of whose fierce encounters the school-room is the battle-ground!" — p. 126.

This is the ingenuity of fault-finding run mad. Coming from any other person, we should at once pronounce it to be captious and unreasonable.

In considering the cases adduced by Mr. Mann, of large institutions successfully managed by "moral suasion," or very mild means, the teacher properly takes a distinction between what he calls "sanative establishments" — such as almshouses, insane asylums, "redemption institutes," pris-

ons, and the like — and the common schools of a great city. He argues very rightly, that the situation of the unfortunate inmates of such asylums necessarily creates in their minds a sense of entire dependence and indebtedness, which renders them far more susceptible of control. He might have added, — the consideration being of still greater weight, — that these unhappy persons remain constantly within the walls, under the eye of their guardians, the system of management thus operating upon them without break, and without the admission of foreign and injurious influences; while the boys of the Boston public schools are under the charge of their teachers for not more than a fourth part of the twenty-four hours, and, during the rest of the time, many of them are at home with vicious, foolish, or negligent parents, or are exposed to all the corrupting and hardening influences of the streets of a large city.

Whether the distinction here set up is broad enough to justify the use of physical coercion in common schools, after it is shown that "sanative establishments" can be managed without it, or *without the use of equivalent means equally objectionable*, we do not undertake to say; probably it is not. But the distinction is evidently good as far as it goes; it is a fair and inoffensive argument, which deserves to be candidly considered. Will it be believed, that Mr. Mann so far perverts this argument as to charge the Teacher with maintaining the monstrous doctrine, that kindness is the appropriate means of influence "for thieves and vagabonds," but not "for honest, noble-souled boys"? But we will do the Secretary the justice, severe though it be, of quoting his own words.

"A way, then, is open, — one condition is still left, — by which you may save your children from the degradation of stripes, and the dastard crouchings of fear; and by which you may secure for them a government and training, whose means are 'active occupations, music, and Christian love,' — 'Christian instruction and Christian benevolence.' Abandon them. Strip off the lineaments of love from your countenance, and put on those of a fiend. Let your words scorch instead of counselling. For embraces, give blows. When night comes on, send them abroad for theft, instead of teaching them to bend their knees, and lift up their voices, in thanksgiving for the past blessings of the light, and the coming blessings of the darkness;

and at last, when the officers of the law shall have seized them for theft, or burglary, or incendiarism, console yourselves with the reflection, that, *for such children*, 'kindness is the appropriate, and should be the almost exclusive means of influence'; — that they can now be blessed by 'Christian instruction and Christian love,' because their present condition has only 'a very partial bearing upon the question of discipline in our common schools.'" — pp. 152, 153.

It is an old rule for the logical conduct of a discussion, that an opponent is not to be charged with any odious consequences that may, fairly enough, be deducible from his doctrine, unless he expressly avows and defends them. The reasonableness of this rule is evident. He may not have foreseen that his opinion would lead to such results, and would have shrunk with horror from them, if he had; or he may not have carefully limited his statement, supposing that the necessary and obvious qualifications and exceptions would be taken for granted. Now, the writer of the last portion of the "Remarks" has but one object in view; he endeavours to show, that "school discipline must be based upon authority, as a starting-point"; he holds, that the duty of submission and obedience, *as such*, explicit and unreserved, must be inculcated on the mind of a child, even, if it be necessary, by a resort to extreme means, — to corporal punishment. Of course, it is sufficiently implied, if, indeed, it be not expressly stated in the sentence we have already quoted, that all milder means must first be tried, and physical pain be made the last resort. Mr. Mann takes no notice of this limitation, and argues, or rather declaims, throughout, on the supposition, that the whole philosophy of school discipline, according to the Teacher, is contained in the four words, "Authority, Force, Fear, Pain"; these are Mr. Mann's words, or rather the selection and collocation are his; he afterwards alters them to "Power, Violence, Terror, Suffering." He says, "It is here, that the 'Remarks' introduce us to a frozen midnight, where the light of love is extinguished, and all moral sentiment and humanity are congealed." Very strong language, certainly, and strikingly opposed to that of Mr. Emerson, who gives his entire assent to the doctrine of the Teacher as above stated, saying, "This most important principle is sustained with power and success; it is placed, so far as reasoning can

place it, on an immovable foundation." Mr. Emerson even admits the necessity of using the authority of brute force "in extreme cases," though he grieves that this idea "should have occupied so large a place in *so pure a mind* as that from which this portion of the 'Remarks' came." Will Mr. Mann include in his anathema all who have expressly sanctioned this doctrine of the Teacher?

But the most striking instance of the transgression of the logical rule above stated still remains. Mr. Mann insists, that the Teacher has stated his principle "without making any exception as to age, sex, or disposition." No express exception, it is true; but would not charity imply one? At any rate, does not the rule already given forbid his taking any advantage of this omission in arguing against the main principle? And yet he proceeds to hold the Teacher responsible for defending the abominable practice of "flogging girls," though there is not one word upon this topic in any part of the "Remarks." Why not also make him answerable, since there is no exception as to age, for whipping infants less than a year old? There would be quite as much charity and justice in the latter case as in the former. We can hardly believe, that, in the Boston public schools, females are actually exposed to this degradation and cruelty. If they are, in the name of decency and humanity, earnestly do we entreat the guardians of those institutions to put an immediate stop to the disgraceful practice. But whether the practice exists or not, Mr. Mann, when his only ostensible purpose is to reply to the remarks of the Teacher, has no right to make him responsible for an inference from his doctrine, which he neither avows nor defends. To heap up indignant denunciations on this point, under the circumstances of the present discussion, is to cast unreasonable and undeserved odium upon his opponent, without advancing a step in the refutation of that opponent's principles. The following extract affords a fair specimen of his language upon this theme.

"In the clear vista of futurity, pictured against a serener sky, and glowing in a celestial light, I see, by the eye of faith, the heralds of Universal Peace. The great prophecy of Christianity is at last fulfilled. Emblems have become realities, and hope is lost in fruition. There is peace on earth and good-will among men. But lo! what hideous spectacle profanes this hal-

lowed vision ? It is a spectacle of men, and the likeness thereof is as the likeness of the Thirty-one Boston Schoolmasters still *flogging boys and* — FLOGGING GIRLS ! " — p. 164.

But enough of fault-finding. If our remarks have given pain, we are sorry for it ; but a regard for judicial fairness leaves no alternative but to expose mistakes and errors, wherever they may be found. The attack of the Boston Teachers upon the Board of Education and its Secretary has failed, — signally and disgracefully failed. Mr. Mann has not only amply vindicated his character and motives, but has gained a large accession of respect and influence by the proofs that have been exhibited of his zeal, his industry, and his untiring devotion to the cause. If he has shown any undue sensitiveness under the criticism of his favorite plans of improvement, or any improper warmth in defending them, he may still boast, that these very failings manifest the strength and heartiness of his attachment to the cause. He should consider, that his especial office is to propose for consideration all schemes of reform in discipline and instruction, which may come under his notice ; while that of others is to weigh them, and decide upon the propriety of their introduction into the schools. Strenuous objections to any of these plans do not necessarily convey any imputation upon him, or upon the propriety of his course in bringing them before the public. He can now afford to be generous, and to welcome his late opponents to a full participation in his labors for extending and perfecting the system of common schools throughout the State. The great business of educating the children of this commonwealth imperatively demands the undivided attention and active coöperation of both parties ; and great will be the responsibility incurred by both, if they disregard this call in order to keep up a discussion, which now promises, if continued further, to degenerate into a miserable personal controversy.

We can hardly conceive it possible, that the great enterprise of the Board of Education of Massachusetts should excite jealousy, distrust, or active opposition in any quarter. The evident disinterestedness of all the persons engaged in it ; the impossibility of converting it into a means for the furtherance of political or sectarian ends ; the union of all parties, sects, interests, and districts in its favor ; the sacred character of the objects it proposes to accomplish ; the good

it has already effected ; and the wide sphere of usefulness which yet remains for it ; — these are its titles to confidence and respect. The history of the few and insignificant attempts to check its progress is full of instruction. It has triumphed over every one of them, gaining fresh vigor and popularity by the effort, while its assailants have been silenced and disgraced. It has overcome the coldness and skepticism which were the most natural and formidable obstacles to it at the beginning, and it is now so firmly supported by the respect and gratitude of the community at large, that any direct opposition to it is not only futile, but pitiable. The Boston Teachers might as well attempt to dam up the Mississippi, as to stay its progress. They do not need to make the attempt ; for if they are faithful to themselves and to the interests intrusted to their charge, it will redound to their own reputation and advantage. It will exalt the dignity of their office ; it will surround them with the sympathies of the public ; it will put into their hands new aids and appliances for the performance of their duties ; it will advance the reputation of their schools ; it will secure to them a richer harvest of esteem and gratitude from their pupils, who will be indebted to them for a more comprehensive, liberal, and profitable education than they now receive. Let them cheer it onward, then, instead of throwing themselves before it, so as to be prostrated and crushed by its irresistible momentum.

Art. X. — CRITICAL NOTICES.

1. — *The Library of American Biography.* Conducted by Jared Sparks. Second Series. Vol. III. Boston: Charles C. Little and James Brown. 1844. 12mo. pp. 438.

We have often called the attention of our readers to the successive volumes of Mr. Sparks's "Library," yet not with greater frequency than was warranted by the interesting nature of the matter contained in them, and by the great value of such fresh and well prepared contributions to the stores of American history. The thirteen volumes, to which the work now extends, em-

brace an amount of biographical and historical information, strictly American in its character, which would be vainly sought elsewhere, being derived in many cases from materials that now exist only in manuscript, or are very difficult of access. On the other hand, the portion derived from well known and easily accessible sources is so complete, succinct, and well digested, as either to obviate the necessity of applying to the original works at all, or materially to lessen the labor of consulting them. The great range of the editor's inquiries, and his long experience in historical investigations, enable him to point out all the fountains whence knowledge can be obtained, and his fellow-laborers have generally used the materials which he has put into their hands with diligence and good taste. If the patronage of the public should allow the work to be continued to a sufficient length, it will form an illustrative complement to the general history of this country, which will be invaluable to the student either of that history, or of the politics, the literature, the science, or the antiquities of our American confederacy. We consider it as a national work, which will not only richly repay immediate and continuous perusal, but will be of great value for preservation and reference in future years. It will be a matter of good omen for the taste of our countrymen, if, amidst the flood of trashy and ephemeral publications now issuing from the press, the worth of such a standard work should be generally recognized, and the editor be encouraged to carry it onward to its natural close.

To show how much he has already accomplished, it may be worth while to give a full list of the individuals whose biographies are now included in the work, distributing them, for convenience, into three classes, according as they belong to the Colonial times, to the annals of the Revolution, or to the history of American politics, science, and literature. In the first class, we find the names of Cotton Mather, Sir William Phips, Sebastian Cabot, Robert de la Salle, General Oglethorpe, Jacob Leisler, Nathaniel Bacon, John Mason, John Eliot, John Smith, and Sir Henry Vane; to the second belong William Ellery, Israel Putnam, Baron Steuben, Patrick Henry, James Otis, General Sullivan, John Stark, Ethan Allen, Benedict Arnold, Richard Montgomery, and Anthony Wayne; and in the third are ranked William Pinckney, Lucretia M. Davidson, David Rittenhouse, Jonathan Edwards, David Brainerd, William Eaton, Alexander Wilson, and Charles Brockden Brown. It is obvious from this list, that the work is yet far from being complete, many names of much note and interest remaining for the future biographer. Among the writers of the lives already published, besides the

editor himself, are the two Everetts, Henry Wheaton, W. H. Prescott, W. B. O. Peabody and his brother, General Armstrong, Professor Channing, William Ware, and C. F. Hoffman. The literary execution of the several volumes is quite as good as might be expected from such contributors.

In the volume now before us, which is the one last published, we find a life of General Sullivan, by Mr. O. W. B. Peabody; of Jacob Leisler, by Mr. Charles F. Hoffman; of Nathaniel Bacon, by the Rev. William Ware; and of Major John Mason, by the Rev. George E. Ellis. No separate biography of either of these individuals has ever before appeared in print; and important manuscript materials having been freely used in the preparation of these memoirs, the book has the attraction of novelty, as well as high historic interest, and literary merit. Two of the persons here commemorated, Jacob Leisler and Nathaniel Bacon, were the leaders of the popular party in the two most remarkable contests between the government and the people which took place in the Colonial times, and which in some measure prepared the minds of men for the final separation of this country from the English dominions. In the language of their own day, they were rebels, and one of them perished, as such, on the scaffold, while the other was probably rescued from the same ignominious fate only by his sudden death. The general sentiment of posterity has reversed this harsh judgment of their rulers, and now honors them as martyrs to the true patriot cause. Few persons can read the brief and simple narrative, here given, of the events in which they were concerned, without acknowledging their claim to be considered among the earliest and most honored defenders of popular rights on this side of the Atlantic.

The life of General Sullivan is a neat and interesting sketch of a man, whose character and services on the field during the Revolutionary contest, and in the civil affairs of his native State after the peace, deserve to be remembered with respect and gratitude. Mr. Ellis has shown the zeal and industry of an antiquarian, as well as the taste of a scholar, in commemorating the exploits of one of those stout old Puritans, ever ready to worship God and to fight the Indians, to whom our fathers were indebted for protection against the numerous perils which surrounded their home in the wilderness.

2. — *Syntax of the Latin Language, chiefly from the German of C. G. Zumpt.* By Charles Beck, Professor of Latin in Harvard University. Second Edition. Boston: James Munroe & Co. 1844. 12mo. pp. 200.

We are very glad to see, that this excellent and philosophical treatise on the syntax of the Latin language has passed to a second edition. As it was not noticed in our pages when first published, we avail ourselves of this late occasion to draw the attention of our readers to it, and to pay a just tribute to its merits. Though modestly stated on the title-page to be taken chiefly from the German of Zumpt, it is so much enlarged and improved, and so admirably adapted to the wants of the English student, that it might well claim to be an original work, — so far, that is, as any complete work on a fixed topic which has been studied for centuries, like the Latin language, can be said to be original. Yet we commend the good taste shown by this modest announcement, which is in striking contrast with the arrogant ignorance of too many pretenders to scholarship in this country, who boldly stand forward as the *authors* of works on philosophical or classical subjects, which they have filched, either piecemeal or entire, from some European repository of learning.

The high reputation of Dr. Beck has been well earned by the care and precision with which he has finished every work that has appeared under his name. He applies the file to his books with a degree of dexterity and exactness, that might be inferred from the neatness and idiomatic finish of his English style, which preserves not a trace of his German origin and education. This patient and thorough elaboration is very necessary in treating of Latin syntax, as the genius of the language requires so many subtile distinctions to be caught and expressed, and as very slight shades of meaning are indicated by differences of grammatical construction. We would refer the student of this little book to the chapter which treats of the subjunctive mood, for numerous illustrations of this remark. To remove the ambiguity or doubt which might still remain for the younger pupil, each principle is illustrated by a copious selection of examples, the analysis of which will afford a key to every difficulty. The division and arrangement of topics proceed on a simple and clear method, so that, especially with the aid of a very complete index subjoined to the work, one is at no loss to find a rule applicable to every case. The final section, on the use of the particles, embracing a very succinct account of some of the most troublesome peculiarities of the language, appears to us to be admirably executed.

A word of praise is due to the admirable mechanical execution of the book, the type and paper being unexceptionable, and the pages being very free from those troublesome eye-sores, typographical errors. The work ought to be introduced into every college in the country, as an indispensable aid for the attainment of that full and accurate knowledge of the Latin classics, which is the only sound basis of a liberal education. It is one of the long series of text-books given to the public of late years by the professors at Harvard, the excellent qualities of which are now generally acknowledged. We look with confidence for still more valuable contributions to the cause of learning and sound s holarship from the same source.

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3. — *Letters of Horace Walpole, Earl of Orford, to Sir Horace Mann, his Britannic Majesty's Resident at the Court of Florence, from* 1760 *to* 1785. Now first published from the original MSS. Concluding Series. Philadelphia: Lea & Blanchard. 1844. 2 vols. 8vo.

The writings and character of Horace Walpole have been examined at considerable length in this Journal. The publication of the volumes now before us, from the original manuscripts, completes the series. These volumes form a body of letters, to which it would be difficult to find a parallel in any other literature. They record, in a polished, agreeable, and witty style, the incidents of the passing moment, together with the chit-chat and gossip of society, and the keen and satirical observations of the author, who stood by more as a spectator than as an actor in the scenes he describes. The first volume embraces the letters from 1760 to 1776; the second volume extends to 1786, the date given on the title-page being incorrect. Of course, the series covers the most important events in the reign of George the Third; and it is very curious and interesting to read the commentaries of a man like Walpole on the events which have such important bearings on the history of the United States. Among the most interesting historical passages is, for example, the last administration of the elder Pitt, he having just been elevated to the peerage as the Earl of Chatham. The letters written in 1775 are full of the troubles with America, and the reader cannot fail of being struck with the sagacity of the writer's views, the soundness of his judgment, and the truth of his predictions. The principal events in the course of the war

are also recorded with contemporaneous speculation. It is impossible, however, to specify a tithe of the interesting matters which are treated, especially in the last volume; and we think, however high an estimate may have been formed of Walpole's admirable powers as a letter-writer, it will be raised by this new series, many of which are of more weighty import than those of the preceding volumes. The publishers have rendered a valuable service by printing them in a uniform shape; they would have deserved the public thanks still more, had they caused the press to be a little more accurately superintended. Typographical blunders occur quite too often. How absurd the following example of carelessness makes a book appear! "What a century," Mr. Walpole is made by the Philadelphia type-setter to exclaim, "What a century, which sees the Jesuits annihilated, and absolute *powder* relinquished!" (Vol. I., p. 363.)

4.— *Notes on Cuba, containing an Account of its Discovery and Early History; a Description of the Face of the Country, its Population, Resources, and Wealth, its Institutions, and the Manners and Customs of its Inhabitants.* By a Physician. Boston: James Munroe & Co. 1844. 12mo. pp. 359.

This is an extremely well written little volume, and it contains a very intelligible account of the island of Cuba in all its aspects. It opens with a series of directions to the traveller, of the most useful and practical kind; for example, a list of hotels and boarding-houses, with a tariff of prices, an account of the distances and modes of conveyance between various points, and other like particulars, which are so desirable to be known to the visiter, whether his object be health or pleasure. After this, the work properly commences. The author gives very agreeable descriptions of his voyage, and of his journeys on the island; he delineates the natural scenery in a manner which proves that he possesses an accurate eye, and a sensibility to the beautiful; and he presents to us lively pictures of the motley population and strangely diversified society of the place. With these particulars, he interweaves brief notices of the scenes in its early history, drawn from the most authentic sources. The botany of the island is not neglected; and full statistical statements of apparent accuracy and great importance are presented.

The author shows, that he has not risen above his Southern

prejudices in some particulars; and perhaps it was not to be expected that he should have done so. We should, however, have been better pleased to see a writer of his evidently liberal culture avoiding the South Carolina cant of impeaching the recent policy of England, and accusing her of sinister designs upon the welfare of the Southern States; for this, we do not hesitate to say, is a tone of remark no less discreditable to the intelligence of him who uses it, than it is gratuitously insulting to a great nation, with whom we are, and ought always to be, on relations of cordial amity.

The style of this book is simple and unpretending, generally accurate, and always vivid and clear. We notice here and there a solecism of expression. On page 74, we find this phrase: "Some, indeed, *was being prepared* close by," instead of *was preparing;* and on the very next page, "as the day *progressed*," instead of *advanced.*

We copy the following for its literary interest:

"On the San Patricio coffee-estate, by one of the alleys through which I passed, stood a small stone building, smoothly plastered, with a flight of steps leading to its entrance; but it was roofless, and shrubs were springing from its floor and portico, while the door and windows had long since been removed. This had once been the study of Maria del Occidente, where she composed that most fanciful of English poems, 'Zophiel'; but deserted and ruinous as it was, in the midst of an unlettered people, it still seemed, from the recollections that hovered about it, like an oasis in the desert.

"An English critic has expressed his surprise, that such a poem could be composed on a Cuba coffee-plantation. Why! it is by a quadruple alley of palms, cocoas, and oranges, interspersed with the tamarind, the pomegranate, the mango, and the rose-apple, with a background of coffee and plantains covering every portion of the soil with their luxuriant verdure. I have often passed by it in the still hour of night, when the moon was shining brightly, and the leaves of the cocoa and palm threw fringe-like shadows on the walls and floor, and the elfin lamps of the cocullos swept through the windows and door, casting their lurid, mysterious light on every object; while the air was laden with mingled perfume from the coffee and orange, and the tube-rose and night-blooming ceres [?]; and I have thought that no fitter birthplace could be found for the images she has created. A coffee-estate is indeed a perfect garden, surpassing in beauty aught that the bleak climate of England can produce." — p. 139.

And we give the following extract, because it is so honorable to the moral character of the writer:

"With all the corruption of the bench in Cuba, the murderer very seldom escapes from punishment; and so well is justice administered in certain cases, that [that] foul excrescence on civilization, and most deliberate defier of the laws of God, the duellist, receives no mercy, and the crime is now *unknown* on the island." — p. 238.

5. — 1. *Kate and Lizzie, or Six Months out of School.* By Anne W. Abbot, Author of "Willie Rogers," &c. New York: C. S. Francis & Co. 1845.
2. *The Tamed and the Untamed, and other Stories.* By the Author of "Willie Rogers." Boston: Samuel G. Simpkins. 1845.

Nearly a year ago, we noticed with high praise a story for the amusement of children, from the pen of this graceful and pleasing writer. Though very humble in its pretensions, the scenes and incidents in it were so naturally conceived and described, and the sentiment expressed was so pure and true, being debased neither by cant nor sentimentalism, that it deserved to be drawn out of the heap of trash which is published every year under the much abused title of "Books for Children." The public of little men and women, to whom it was addressed, apparently agreed with us in opinion, and they are rewarded this year by the appearance of two or three other stories from the same source. We notice in them the same peculiarities which obtained so much favor for "Willie Rogers." The characters are sketched with great spirit, and the scenes are so life-like, or rather so *home-like*, that the reader almost fancies that they were copied from his own fireside experiences. The shrewdness and humor with which the queer fancies, little failings, and generous impulses of children are represented, preserving the very trick of their manner and talk, are inimitable. They are not portrayed as tame angels, uttering words of inspiration and teaching the wise, after the affected fashion which is now too much in vogue. Neither are they stiff patterns of propriety and all moral and religious excellence, such as some very worthy persons like to draw in stories "calculated to do good," and are very much astonished that nobody recognizes the likeness. They are only romping, but good, *children*, doing mischief half of the time, and gravely fitting themselves for the cares and tasks of manhood or womanhood during the other half. Among the writers of established reputation, only Miss Edgeworth and Miss Mitford appear to have hit upon and accurately expressed this conception of a child's character.

Of the two books before us, "Kate and Lizzie" is much the better. Some of the older characters are admirably drawn, and the general views of life and duty which are presented in it, though never obtrusively, nor in a sermonizing strain, are eminently sound and healthful. Miss Marcia is a capital portrait, and one which many persons of excellent intentions, who have a drop or

two of acid in their temper and manners, will do well to contemplate. The mode in which this rather sharp and ungracious goodness is rebuked by the spontaneous charity and mildness of the children is a fine lesson, delicately conceived and impressively taught.

We hope the writer of these charming stories will be induced to continue her good work. Considering the interest she is able to create, and the purity of the instruction which she gives, we can hardly conceive of any wider and more effectual means of doing good.

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6. — *A Discourse of the Baconian Philosophy.* By Samuel Tyler, of the Maryland Bar. Frederick City, Md.: Printed by Ezekiel Hughes. 1844. 12mo. pp. 178.

We have read this unpretending little volume — unpretending in every respect, perhaps, except the title — with much pleasure, and with great respect for the learning, sound judgment, and general ability with which the writer has explained and defended important truths. He is an ardent but judicious admirer of the Baconian system, and the views which he expresses of its scope and leading characteristics are sound and discriminating, and calculated to place the learner upon the right track. We would mention with particular praise the remarks upon analogy considered as a species of inductive evidence, upon the distinction between logical and rhetorical analogies, and upon natural theology when viewed as a branch of the inductive philosophy. The examination of Lord Brougham's "Discourse on Natural Theology," and of Hume's essay on a special Providence and a future state, though not carried far enough to bring out all the difficulties of the subject, is a good specimen of criticism, and shows a clear comprehension of the great questions at issue. These are topics well worth the attention of every reflecting mind, and they are here discussed with remarkable good sense, and an earnestness which manifests the depth of the writer's conviction.

Mr. Tyler writes in an easy and well sustained style, which never sinks into meagreness, nor offends by rhetorical display. His chief fault is diffuseness both of thought and expression; if his diction was more compact and sinewy, and his ideas pressed into smaller bulk, he might sustain a comparison to advantage with most American writers of the present day. Speculations on such a theme as he has chosen cannot be widely popular; but to the few who take an interest in them we can cordially commend this little volume as containing valuable hints, and food for profitable reflection.

NEW PUBLICATIONS RECEIVED.

An Analysis of Kant's Critic of Pure Reason. By the Translator of that Work. London: William Pickering. 1844. 8vo. pp. 215.

Chronological Introduction to the History of the Church, being a new Inquiry into the true Dates of the Birth and Death of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ; and containing an original Harmony of the Four Gospels, now first arranged in the Order of Time. By the Rev. Samuel Farmer Jarvis, D. D., L. L. D., Historiographer to the Church. London: W. J. Cleaver. 1844. 8vo. pp. 618.

Notes on Northern Africa, the Sahara and Soudan. By William B. Hodgson. New York: Wiley & Putnam. 1844. 8vo. pp. 107.

Proceedings of the Naval Court-Martial in the Case of Alexander Slidell Mackenzie, a Commander in the Navy of the United States; to which is added an elaborate Review, by James Fenimore Cooper. New York: Henry G. Langley. 1844. 8vo. pp. 344.

An Address before the Literary Societies of Hamilton College, July 23, 1844. By Horace Greeley. Published by Request. New York: William H. Graham. 1844. 8vo. pp. 40.

Fitz Clarence: a Poem. By B. B. French. Washington: Printed by Blair & Rives. 1844. 8vo. pp. 31.

Revue Française des Familles et des Pensionnats, paraissant le premier de chaque mois. Vol. I. No. I. New York: F. G. Berteau, Editeur. 1844. 8vo.

A Defence of the Protestant Bible, as published by the Bible Societies, against the Charge raised against it by the Rev. Dr. Ryder, that it does not contain the whole of the Sacred Scriptures by 139 Chapters. By Akroatees. New York: Leavitt, Trow, & Co. 1844. 8vo. pp. 68.

An Oration delivered at Cambridge, before the Phi Beta Kappa Society in Harvard University, August 29, 1844. By George Putnam. Boston: Little & Brown. 1844. 8vo. pp. 36.

The Dangers of the Scholar: an Address delivered before the Gamma Sigma Society of Dartmouth College, July 25, 1844. By the Rev. John K. Lord, of Hartford, Vt. Boston: James Munroe & Co. 1844. 8vo. pp. 32.

Droppings from the Heart, or Occasional Poems. By Thomas Mackellar. Philadelphia: Sorin & Ball. 1844. 18mo. pp. 144.

An Essay on the Philosophy of Medical Science. By Elisha Bartlett, M. D., Professor of the Theory and Practice of Medicine in the University of Maryland. Philadelphia: Lea and Blanchard. 1844. 8vo. pp. 310.

Miscellanies. By Stephen Collins, M. D. Philadelphia: Carey & Hart. 12mo. pp. 308.

The Distant Hills, an Allegory. By the Rev. W. Adams, M. A. From the London Edition, with Engravings from original Designs,

by Chapman. New York: General Prot. Episcopal S. S. Union. 1844. 18mo. pp. 104.

The Shadow of the Cross, an Allegory. By the Rev. W. Adams, M. A. From the London Edition, with Engravings from original Designs, by Chapman. New York: General Prot. Episcopal S. S. Union. 1844. 18mo. pp. 96.

An Address to the Essex Agricultural Society, September 25, 1844. By John W. Proctor. Published by Order of the Society. Salem. 1845. 8vo. pp. 46.

Dr. Busby and his Neighbours. By the author of "Willie Rogers." Salem: W. & S. B. Ives. 1845.

An Appeal to the People of Massachusetts on the Texas Question. Boston: Little & Brown. 1844. 8vo. pp. 20.

History of the Law of Nations in Europe and America, from the Earliest Times to the Treaty of Washington, 1842. By Henry Wheaton, LL. D. New York: Gould, Banks, & Co. 1845. 8vo. pp. 797.

Address delivered before the Rhode Island Historical Society, Nov. 20, 1844. By William Gammell, Professor of Rhetoric in Brown University. Providence: B. Cranston & Co. 8vo. pp. 30.

History of the Revolt of the British Colonies of America. By George Chalmers. Boston: James Munroe & Co. 1845. 2 vols. 8vo.

Scenes in my Native Land. By Mrs. L. H. Sigourney. Boston: James Munroe & Co. 1845. 16mo.

Lays of the Gospels. By S. G. Bulfinch. Boston: James Munroe & Co. 1845.

NOTE

TO ARTICLE IX.

On page 244, our language seems to imply a doubt, whether the practice of whipping girls actually exists in the Boston public schools. We have since learned from undoubted authority, that the thing is not only allowed, but is practised to a great extent, in these institutions. It is also due to Mr. Mann to state, that in the part of the "Reply" here referred to, and in several other portions of the pamphlet, he wrote with the intention not merely to answer the arguments of the Teachers, but to expose certain defects and abuses in the Boston schools. We looked only at what appeared in print, and our strictures would have been modified considerably, if we had known the facts to which Mr. Mann had reference. The severity of his language, as we have since understood, was often designed rather for the practices of the Boston teachers in school, than for their positions and arguments as they appeared in the "Remarks."

NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW.

No. CXXVII.

APRIL, 1845.

ART. I. — 1. *Lettres écrites à un Provincial*, par BLAISE PASCAL. *Précédées d'un Eloge de Pascal*, par M. BORDAS DEMOULIN. Paris : Librairie de Firmin Didot, Frères. 1842. 12mo. pp. 395.

2. *Pensées de Pascal, précédées de sa Vie*, par MADAME PERIER, sa Sœur. Paris : Firmin Didot. 1842. 12mo. pp. 504.

GREAT precocity of genius, however developed or employed, seldom fails to excite at least as much alarm and pity as admiration in the judicious spectator. If not in itself a token of disease already formed, and working as a stimulus on the brain, it is sure to lead quickly to some morbid action of the physical frame, and ere long to dry up the fountains of life. The skilful horticulturist, by a forcing process, can compel the branch of a tree to make a premature and excessive display of fruit ; but at the end of the year the limb is sure to perish. The energies of mind are equally exhausted, when compelled to yield their harvest out of season. The great law of compensation, which we find, on close scrutiny, to obtain everywhere in the scheme of Providence respecting mankind, under the glaring inequalities which appear on a superficial view, applies in a much greater degree than we are apt to imagine to the powers of the intellect. It seems as if only a given amount of work can be done. If more is accomplished at an early period, a shorter term of life remains for further achievements. So firmly is this truth established by uniform observation, that a

note of lamentation, a mournful presentiment, always mingles with the admiring applause which greets every new and wonderful effort of a youthful prodigy. We mourn that this early excellence should be purchased at so high a price, — that premature strength and beauty of mind should be doomed to premature decay.

Blaise Pascal, the boy Euclid, the contemporary and peer of Torricelli, Huygens, and Descartes, the scourge of the Jesuits, the boast of the Port Royal school of theologians and philosophers, the earliest writer of correct and elegant French prose, the master in eloquence of Bossuet, and the object of the unwilling homage even of Voltaire, died at the age of thirty-nine. All his important writings, except the "Thoughts," which was a posthumous publication, appeared several years before his death; and his most valuable contributions to science were made before he was thirty. As a boy, he seemed miraculously endowed, and the abundant promise of his youth was fully sustained by the rich fruit of his early manhood. Bodily weakness and suffering, to which he was a lifelong martyr, far from impairing, seemed only to heighten the preternatural acuteness and strength of his intellect, as a hectic flush improves the beauty and expressiveness of the features. All that he accomplished in science and philosophy, great as was its intrinsic value, only leaves the impression that he had much in reserve. His discoveries and inventions are rather the indications, than the full fruits, of the vigor and comprehensiveness of his genius. They showed what he might have done, if his ambition had been greater, or if it had not been so early checked and turned into a different channel by religious enthusiasm. One of the most remarkable of his scientific labors, his solution of certain problems relating to the cycloid, a task which had been proposed to all the geometers of Europe as a trial of strength, and which they had failed to accomplish, was executed by him as a diversion, during the weary and sleepless hours entailed upon him by wasting disease, that confined him to his couch, and made him incapable of holding a pen. As he had renounced science for a long time, the demonstrations remained for many days floating in his memory, before he even thought of committing them to paper. This he finally did at the solicitation of a friend, and performed the whole work of preparing them for the press in eight days. This

effort established his reputation as the first geometer of his time ; but the fame thus acquired was only another garland to be thrown on the tomb to which he was hastening. He heeded it not ; for religious exercises now absorbed his whole attention, and the immortal "Thoughts," the ablest and most eloquent apology for Christianity ever published in France, were the sole occupation of his dying hours.

No full and satisfactory account of his life and works has ever appeared. There are eulogies upon him in plenty, but they give only a meagre and fragmentary view of his labors, and supply few materials for a complete portrait of his character and genius. The memoir of him by his sister, Madame Perier, who shared the fervor of his religious feelings, is short, and gives us little more than a record of his bodily sufferings, and illustrations of the remarkable purity, generosity, severity of principle, and self-devotion, which characterized his whole life. We must make allowance for the bias of sisterly affection and pride ; but there is no cause to doubt the honest simplicity of the writer's intentions, and the anecdotes which she relates are authentic and interesting. Later authors among his countrymen, though they have added but few facts to his biography, have done full justice to his scientific merits, have celebrated his wit, his acuteness, and his eloquence, and have paid a willing tribute of admiration to the unequalled vigor, terseness, and purity of his style. But they have not fully appreciated his depth of thought and originality in speculation, his reasoning power, his sharp observation of human nature, or the consecration of all the traits of his genius by the most fervid piety. His current reputation as a philosophical thinker and eloquent advocate of religion will be more increased than diminished by the most rigid examination of his works.

Blaise Pascal was born in the summer of 1623, at Clermont, the capital of the province of Auvergne, in France. His father, Etienne Pascal, who had himself attained considerable reputation as a man of science and letters, superintended the education of his only son with rare devotion and judgment. That he might obtain greater facilities for instruction, he gave up the office which he had held at Clermont, and came to reside in Paris when Blaise was but eight years old. As the mother had died five years before, the boy was entirely dependent on paternal aid, and the signs

which he had already given of extraordinary natural endowments were enough to determine the father not to enter him at any college, but to take the whole task of his education on himself. So precious, though so frail, a gift of Providence, the delicacy of his bodily constitution being already apparent, was not lightly to be intrusted to the hands of strangers. The eager curiosity of the boy, fostered by his clear and quick perceptions of things, was not to be satisfied with the narrow range of studies at first allotted to him in consideration for his health. His father was wont to converse freely with him in answering his inquiries about the causes of phenomena that attracted his notice, and thus, without knowing it, probably stimulated his mind more than if he had allowed him to study the same subjects in books. To the young, oral instruction is vastly more exciting and effective than the most judicious selection of reading and exercises for the memory. The intention of the elder Pascal was, that his son should study only the languages during his tender years, with a view to cultivate the memory and the taste, while the more manly and exacting pursuits of mathematical and physical science were to be the employment of his early manhood. This wise scheme was frustrated by circumstances and the precocity of the child's genius.

The elder Pascal belonged to a small association of scientific men, among whom were Mersenne, Roberval, Le Pailleur, and Carcavi, who came together occasionally, in an informal way, to discuss new inventions and discoveries, and who kept up a correspondence with persons in the provinces and in foreign countries, who were interested in the same pursuits. They met in turn at the houses of the several members, and were united as much by personal regard as by the similarity of their tastes and occupations. The Academy of Sciences, which was established in 1666, was formed out of this society. Young Pascal was usually present at the meetings when they were held at his father's house, and the conversations which he heard probably stimulated his curiosity the more from the very fact that he was not allowed to study the subjects of the debate in books. When he was but twelve years old, his sister tells us, he wrote a short treatise upon sounds, in which he endeavoured to show why a plate, after it had been struck by a knife, immediately ceased ringing if it was touched by the hand. He was eager to know

the nature of geometry, of which he had often heard the associates speak. His father told him generally, that it related to the measurement of bodies, and showed how to construct figures with accuracy, and to ascertain their relations to each other. More information was refused ; but a promise was given, that he should study the subject after he had learned enough Latin and Greek. The importunate curiosity of the boy could not tolerate this delay. During his leisure hours, he shut himself up in a chamber, and with a piece of charcoal traced figures upon the floor, such as parallelograms, triangles, and circles, seeking to find their relative dimensions. He knew not even the names of these figures, but called a circle a *round*, and a line a *bar*. Definitions and axioms he framed to suit himself, and in this way proceeded by degrees, as we are told, till he came to a knowledge of the thirty-second proposition of Euclid, that the three angles of a triangle are equal to two right angles. While thus engaged, he was one day surprised by his father, who was naturally amazed at the progress made under such circumstances, and ran immediately to communicate the fact to his intimate friend, Le Pailleur. After this discovery, no further restraint was put upon the boy's genius. Euclid's "Elements" were given to him, and he read the book by himself, without asking any aid, before he was thirteen years old.

This account is given by the elder sister, who was in the family at the time, and must have known the facts ; and as her character does not allow her veracity to be questioned, there seems no room to doubt its substantial accuracy. It was published, also, when some of the associates of the elder Pascal were still alive, who could have refuted any misstatement. Yet the story seems so marvellous, that many have considered it a mere fable. The only part of the statement that is really incredible, however, is the explanation of the process, or method, by which the boy arrived at such astonishing results. The order in which geometry is taught in the books is surely the very reverse of that in which the great truths of this science were first discovered. Instead of beginning with axioms and definitions, and advancing through the more simple propositions to the more complex, the process must have begun with the discovery, either by accident or measurement, of some advanced the-

orem, and, in seeking to demonstrate this, subsidiary truths came to light as the media of proof. Pythagoras certainly was acquainted with the famous proposition about the square of the hypothenuse, before he was able to demonstrate it. Euclid teaches the elements synthetically; he discovered them by analysis. Now, if we suppose that Pascal, in the scientific meetings at his father's house, had overheard mention of the fact that the three angles of a triangle are equal to two right angles, and endeavoured to discover the proof of this theorem, the story ceases to be incredible, or even very remarkable. If we consider the astonishing acuteness and vigor of his mind, as subsequently displayed in other ways, it seems quite probable, that he succeeded in inscribing a triangle in a circle, and in ascertaining that an angle at the centre is twice as great as one at the circumference standing upon the same arc, whence the passage to the truth he was seeking to demonstrate is obvious. He may have found out more or less than this; the account on which we rely being quite indefinite as to the particulars of his achievement. The only thing really marvellous about it is, that a boy twelve years of age, without advice or instigation, should have troubled himself at all about the matter.

His aptitude for mathematical investigations soon appeared in a manner that admits no doubt nor cavil. He now took an active share in the discussions that were held by his father with his scientific associates, and when he was but sixteen years old, he composed a short treatise on conic sections, which was considered as a prodigy of genius. It was published in 1640, and astonished Descartes himself, who persisted in maintaining that it was the work of Pascal's instructers, as he could not believe it was the production of a child. But the progress of his studies was now interrupted by domestic misfortunes. His father incurred the resentment of Richelieu, by offering some opposition to an arbitrary plan for cutting short the income attached to the Hôtel de Ville. An order was made out for committing him to the Bastille; but obtaining seasonable notice of it, he fled from Paris, and concealed himself in his native province of Auvergne. A singular circumstance aided the talents and filial piety of his children, to which he was at last indebted for restoration from exile. The cardinal, it is well known, had a passion for dramatic performances, and even wrote a

play himself, which was quite bad enough to be worthy of a prime-minister. He took a fancy about this time, that a tragi-comedy by Scudéri, called "L'Amour Tyrannique," should be represented in his presence by a party of young girls. The Duchess d'Aiguillon, who had charge of the affair, selected Jacqueline Pascal, then about thirteen years old, the younger sister of Blaise, to be one of the performers. The permission of the elder sister, afterwards Madame Perier, who was the head of the family during the absence of the father, was asked; but she coldly answered, that they did not consider themselves under any great obligation at that time to please the cardinal. The duchess persisted in her request, and hinted that the pardon of the father might reward them for compliance. They yielded to this suggestion, and the representation took place on the 3d of April, 1639. Jacqueline acted her part like a little fairy, and her grace and spirit quite captivated the spectators, and excited all the good feelings of Richelieu. It had been arranged, that the little actress should approach the minister at the close of the piece, and recite some verses pleading for the restoration of her father. She did so with a degree of simplicity and earnestness that delighted the cardinal, who embraced her as soon as she had finished, and exclaimed, "Yes, my child, I grant all that you ask for; write to your father, that he may immediately return with safety." The kind duchess then spoke with strong commendation of the merits of the family, and added, pointing to Blaise, who was standing near, "There is the son, who is but fifteen years old, and is already a distinguished mathematician."

The elder Pascal returned to Paris, and was received with great kindness by Richelieu, who soon afterwards appointed him to an honorable and lucrative office in the government of Rouen. He removed his family to that city, and the numerous accounts and calculations that were necessary in his official business were confided to his son. Weary of the prolix and monotonous processes of arithmetic, the young man endeavoured to invent some mechanical means of executing the work. After two years of intense application, he produced the celebrated arithmetical machine which bears his name. It was a marvellous effort for a boy of nineteen. Leibnitz speaks of it with admiration, and made some attempts to improve it; and in our own day, the magnificent

project of Mr. Babbage, which seems fated never to be any thing more than a project, is a mere revival and amplification of the ingenious contrivance of the young Frenchman. Pascal's machine consists of a kind of framework, supporting several parallel bars, which turn on their axes, each one having two series of numbers inscribed upon it. A combination of wheels and pinions behind directs the revolution of these bars, and after the machine is set for a particular process, the numbers forming the result appear through the opening in the face of the instrument. The complexity of the work prevents us from giving a more detailed description of it. It is enough to say, that it executes all the lower processes of arithmetic with quickness and certainty, and performs some of the more complex and difficult operations. The arithmetical triangle, invented by Pascal in 1654, is a natural complement to this machine. It gives the coefficients of a binomial raised to any power denoted by an integer, so that it is in part an anticipation of Newton's beautiful theorem. It was applied, also, to the theories of combinations and probabilities, facilitating the calculations in each, and indicating certain results in them not before known.

Pascal was proud of these inventions, and with good reason, considering their fertility and the originality of the ideas on which they rest. He says, that the operation of his machine resembles, far more than the instinct of animals, the workings of the human intellect. In 1650, he sent one of the instruments to Queen Christina of Sweden, with a letter which is a perfect masterpiece of tact and delicacy in complimentary address, and shows that the writer was not more a man of science than an accomplished French gentleman. But the cost of the machine, and its liability to get out of repair, prevented it from coming into extensive use; and the invention of logarithms renders all contrivances of this class in a great degree unnecessary. In speaking of the mechanical skill of Pascal, his biographers uniformly attribute to him the invention of the wheel sedan-chair and the truck, though it is difficult to believe that these simple instruments were not in use long before his time. He probably made some marked improvements in the common mode of constructing them. The intense and continued exercise of his mind, during two years, upon his arithmetical contrivance proved a permanent injury to his physical constitution,

which was naturally frail and sensitive ; and ever after this period he suffered under the complication of maladies which finally caused his death.

It would be tedious to dwell upon the history of Pascal's discoveries in mathematical science. They were conspicuous and important enough to attract the attention and envy of Descartes, who seemed to arrogate to himself at this period the whole province of pure mathematics as his particular domain. The researches upon the theory of the cycloid have been already mentioned ; inferior as they are to the results since obtained so easily by the use of the infinitesimal calculus, they must be regarded as almost miraculous achievements of the geometry of Pascal's time. The calculation of chances, various problems in which are so complex and far-reaching as to tax the utmost resources of the improved science of our own day, owes its earliest development, and the establishment of some of its most important principles, to the genius of this youthful mathematician. Huygens, to whom the praise of originating the true theory of games of chance is sometimes awarded, frankly avows, in the preface to his work on this subject, that the invention does not belong to him, as " all these questions have already been discussed by the greatest geometers of France." In truth, the work of Huygens appeared in 1657, while the solutions of Pascal were well known in 1654, when he was but thirty-one years of age. The subject was proposed to him by a celebrated gamester, who wished to know in what proportions the stake should be divided between two players, if they agreed to separate without finishing the game. Pascal solved the problem in its most general form, so as to divide the sum equitably among any number of players who might be engaged. Roberval and Fermat, two of the most distinguished mathematicians in France, attempted to answer these questions at the same time ; the former failed entirely ; the latter succeeded by applying the theory of combinations. Pascal, who had solved the problem by another method, believed at first that the solution by Fermat was not correct, although the result agreed with his own ; but on further examination he retracted this opinion, and acknowledged that the process was equally accurate and elegant.

Passing over Pascal's other mathematical labors, though many of them are of considerable note, we come to his con-

tributions to physical science, which afford still more remarkable proofs of the premature vigor of his intellect. His celebrated experiments upon the weight of the atmosphere put the seal of demonstration upon one of the greatest discoveries of modern times. Torricelli suspected that the ascent of water in a common pump, which had hitherto been attributed to nature's repugnance to a vacuum, was really due to the weight of a column of air, which balanced the column of fluid. The workmen of the Duke of Florence had informed him, that the pump would not act for a height of more than thirty-three feet. If the weight of the atmosphere, then, would support a column of water thirty-three feet high, it would balance a much heavier fluid only at a much lower elevation. Torricelli took a glass tube about three feet long, sealed at one end, and having filled it with quicksilver, he plunged the open end into a cup full of the same fluid, and found that the mercury in the tube, after some oscillations, remained at the height of about thirty inches above the surface of the mercury in the cup. Mercury is about thirteen times heavier than water, and thirty inches is about the thirteenth part of thirty-three feet. In other words, the power which supported the two fluids, whatever it might be, was constant in respect to weight, since the elevation of the two fluids was inversely proportional to their weight. Torricelli believed, that this power was the pressure of the air, or that a column of air as high as the earth's atmosphere was as heavy as thirty inches of mercury, or as thirty-three feet of water. But he could not prove this; his supposition, it is true, explained the facts; but it did not exclude other hypotheses which might be framed to account for the same phenomena. The question remained open, then, till, in the language of Bacon, an *experimentum crucis* could be devised, which should eliminate the false theories, and show that the weight of the atmosphere was *the only possible* cause of the phenomenon. This experiment was at last devised and executed by Pascal, who thereby put the question for ever at rest.

The experiment of Torricelli, which was, in truth, the invention of the barometer, was made in 1645. Its result had been predicted by Descartes; but the explanation offered by both these philosophers had at first but small success among the learned. The doctrine of the repugnance

of nature to a vacuum had been too long established to give way readily to a truth which was not as yet demonstrated. The supposition was gravely made, that some *subtile matter*, or *ether*, evaporated from the surface of the water or the mercury, and filled the apparent void in the top of the tube. Pascal at once adopted the views of Torricelli and Descartes, and repeated the experiments of the former in 1646, with some variations, which still further discredited the old doctrine. He used tubes of great length, and thus proved that nature did not dread a great vacuum any more than a small one. He employed a tube bent in the form of the letter U, and having invented an apparatus for admitting at intervals small quantities of air into the top of one of the branches, he found that the mercury descended there just as fast as the air was admitted, while it remained stationary in the other branch. The results of these experiments, and the arguments founded upon them, he published in 1647, in a little book, entitled "New Experiments respecting a Vacuum." Noel, a Jesuit, who was then rector of the College of Paris, published a severe criticism upon this work, and Pascal replied in a sarcastic and argumentative way, showing the power in controversy which was afterwards more fully developed in the "Provincial Letters."

But Pascal saw with pain, that not one of the tests or arguments hitherto employed was absolutely decisive of the point at issue. After long and painful reflection upon the subject, he at last matured the idea of an experiment, which would leave no room for cavil, and would establish the true doctrine irrevocably. If the air be a weighty fluid, each horizontal stratum of it must be pressed by the accumulated weight of all the superincumbent strata, and the pressure must therefore diminish as we rise above the surface of the earth. Now, if it be the pressure of the air which sustains the column of fluid, let the instrument be carried to a considerable height in the atmosphere, and the mercury must fall to a lower point in the tube. In order that the difference in the height of the mercury might be very perceptible, and leave no pretext to doubt its reality, it was necessary to raise the tube very high in the air. The mountain called the Puy-de-Dôme, which is in the neighbourhood of Clermont, and is about three thousand feet high, offered a suitable means for accomplishing this object. On the 15th of

November, 1647, Pascal communicated his project to his brother-in-law, M. Perier, who was about to visit Clermont, and charged him to make the trial as soon as he arrived there. Various circumstances delayed the execution of the plan; but it was tried at last, with all possible exactness, on the 19th of September, 1648, and all the phenomena were observed which Pascal had predicted. The mercury began to descend in the tube as they climbed the mountain's side, and on the summit it was more than three inches lower than it had been at the base. As they descended, the column rose again, till they reached the plain, where it had the same elevation as at first. In another tube, which had been observed meanwhile on the plain, no alteration had taken place. Pascal made similar experiments at Paris, by means of the very lofty tower of St. Jacques-la-Boucherie, and obtained corresponding results.

Herschel, quoted with approbation by Mr. Hallam, calls this famous experiment "a *crucial instance*, one of the first, if not the very first, on record in physics." Indeed, the whole history of Pascal's investigations respecting the pressure of the atmosphere is such a striking and beautiful illustration of the Baconian system, that we must believe he had studied the "Novum Organum," an edition of which was printed in Holland in 1645, just a year before Pascal began his work. His final success appears the more remarkable, when we consider that he was not yet twenty-five years old. Descartes, with his usual selfishness and arrogance, claimed the merit of this experiment for himself, by affirming, in a letter written in 1649, that he had suggested it to Pascal two years before. This assertion was communicated to the latter, who disdained to take any direct notice of it; but in a historical account of the matter, which he wrote in 1651, he says, without mentioning Descartes, "I boldly declare that this experiment is of my own invention; and I say, moreover, that the increase of knowledge which it has occasioned is due entirely to me." If we reflect on the severe integrity of Pascal's conduct, the rigid conscientiousness which pervaded his character, and the frank and manly way in which he acknowledges the merit due to others, evinced particularly by his language respecting Torricelli, it seems impossible to discredit this distinct assertion. "The question is one of those," says Playfair, "where a man's conduct in a

particular case can only be rightly interpreted from his general character and behaviour." It is notorious, that Descartes was far from being frank and candid in his intercourse with others. He contrives to give a history of the origin of the telescope without mentioning Galileo ; he says nothing of the discoveries of Kepler, though so nearly connected with his own ; and his conduct towards Snellius subjects his integrity to the heaviest imputations. " The truth is," says Playfair, " that he appears throughout a jealous and suspicious man, always inclined to depress or conceal the merit of others." Surely, when a question of veracity arises between two such persons as Pascal and Descartes, we cannot doubt for a moment which is to be believed.

The experiments upon the pressure of the atmosphere naturally led Pascal to some more general inquiries respecting the equilibrium of fluids. He wrote two treatises upon this subject and upon the weight of the air, which were finished in 1653, though they were not published till after his death. They contain the record of some ingenious experiments, and many general views, which were considerably in advance of the science of his time. He remarks, that the air is a compressible and elastic fluid, and cites, as a proof of this, a trial which he had caused to be made on the Puy-de-Dôme, where a balloon partly filled with air at the base, on being carried to the summit, was entirely distended ; it shrunk again as the party descended the mountains, and regained its former volume at the foot. He made some observations, also, on the changes to which the column of mercury is exposed, while kept at the same place, proceeding from the variations of the weather. He did not, indeed, divine all the barometrical uses of this instrument, though he seems to have accomplished more in this way than any one of his contemporaries.

If we except the mathematical inquiry respecting the cycloid, which was taken up rather as a diversion during his last illness, it may be said, that Pascal's scientific labors terminated when he had attained the age of thirty. It is not surprising, then, that their results should hardly appear so numerous and brilliant as those obtained by one or two of his illustrious contemporaries in an age which was the most remarkable, perhaps, for the progress of science and the development of the human mind, of any in the

history of the world. But as indications of what he might have done in a longer period, or under more favorable circumstances, — as evidence of the vast power and fertility of his youthful intellect, they will never cease to command the wonder and admiration of mankind. If his life had been protracted to the ordinary limit, if suffering and disease had not perpetually discouraged him, if his ambition had been greater, or if it had not been so early checked and turned into a different channel, we can hardly doubt that he would have stood among the foremost of the great promoters of science in modern times.

The father of Pascal died in 1651 ; and two years afterwards, his sister Jacqueline, to whom he was tenderly attached, retired for ever from the world, by uniting herself to the company of pious recluses at Port Royal. Anxious to show the fervor of her religious faith, and her grateful feelings towards the brother who had first directed her own steps to the path of peace, she sought to win him also from the world, by causing him to renounce his former studies, and to seek only for the things of heaven. Various circumstances aided the execution of this pious scheme. An attack of paralysis, several years before, had nearly deprived him of the use of his legs, and diseases of the nervous system and the stomach had now brought him to the verge of the grave. There was no course left for him but to abandon his engrossing labors, at least for a season, to turn his thoughts to other subjects, and patiently to await either the partial restoration of his health, or a final release from earthly suffering. During the tedious hours of illness, his mind reverted to the religious counsels he had received in his youth. His father had carefully sown in his mind the seeds of piety and Christian faith. These had remained quiet, though not wholly inoperative, during his early manhood, while the whole force of his intellect was directed to scientific pursuits. But they sprang up with a most luxuriant growth, when these pursuits were forcibly interrupted for a time by physical suffering. The objects for which he had hitherto labored so strenuously now lost all value in his eyes. The memory of youthful triumphs was no longer pleasant ; the reputation he had already gained, the hopes of still greater distinction which he had once cherished, were now ranked among the vain joys and aspirations of a world which seemed to be

fading from his sight, as another one of more glorious promise opened to his view from beyond the grave. He resolved to mortify his ambition and love of science, to quench even the natural spark of family affection, to deny himself the ordinary comforts of life, and to devote his whole soul to the contemplation of God and a future life. He became a recluse, an ascetic, an enthusiast; we will not say a fanatic, for his cruelties were lavished only on himself. The end was not yet; a few more years remained to him, during which his achievements in defence of persecuted innocence and religious truth were destined to surpass in splendor his early contributions to the cause of human learning.

During the extremity of bodily pain, this change of purpose wrought so powerfully on his mind, that at one time he was probably on the brink of insanity. As he slowly and imperfectly recovered, the intensity of feeling subsided in some degree, but was revived and made permanent by the consequences of an accident. As he was crossing the Pont de Neuilly in a carriage, the horses became restive and unmanageable, and at a point where there was no railing to the bridge, they leaped into the river. Fortunately, the traces broke, and the carriage stopped on the brink; but the frail system of Pascal received a shock so violent, that he fainted, and was with great difficulty restored to consciousness. The alarm and the jar of the head which were thus caused had a sensible effect on his excited imagination, and he became subject to a kind of false sensation not uncommon in certain forms of mental disease. He saw a frightful precipice yawning continually at his side, and though his reason convinced him that it was unreal, he could not resist the terror which it occasioned. We find indistinct notices of a sort of vision, or ecstasy, which he had soon afterwards, and which was attributed to the same cause. As a memorial of this vision, he preserved for a long time a paper on which were written the day and the hour when it occurred, and some detached pious meditations; and this paper he constantly carried about with him, as if it were an amulet, concealed within the lining of his dress. It is difficult to say, whether this was an effect of partial insanity, or of some superstitious idea which he had connected with the vision. At any rate, he considered the accident on the bridge as a warning given to him by Heaven to break off all human engagements, and to live in

future for God alone. It is painful to read the minute account given by his sister of the privations and sufferings imposed upon himself by this unhappy enthusiast, during the remainder of his life. Great as these austerities were, they never altered the sweetness of his disposition, nor impaired the astonishing vigor and acuteness of his intellect, whenever he had occasion to use his pen in the cause of truth.

Pascal now became an intimate friend of the most distinguished Port Royalists, and though he never formally united himself to their society, he was accustomed to make them long visits, and was led to espouse their doctrines, and to take an active share in the controversies in which they were then engaged. Among the more eminent of their number, to whom he became particularly attached, — similarity in taste, opinion, and ardor of devotional feeling being the bond of union between them, — were Arnauld, Nicole, De Saci, and Lancelot. Of the remarkable association, of which these men were the brightest ornaments, and which was at once the glory and the shame of France during the seventeenth century, our limits will not permit us to speak at length ; but some notice of it is necessary, in order to make intelligible the history of the bitter controversy it waged with the Jesuits, when the genius of Pascal came to its rescue at the hour of its greatest need, and delayed for many years its destruction by the hands of its powerful and bitter antagonists.

The effects of the Reformation were hardly more conspicuous upon the feelings and conduct of those who separated from the church of Rome, than of those who remained within its pale. Fiercely assaulted from all quarters, the ancient Mother found greater resources in her own bosom than she had ever counted upon in her hour of prosperity. Opposition developed her strength ; shame and rivalry purified her morals and reduced the number of her corruptions ; and the piety of many of her faithful children kindled into a brighter and purer flame, as they looked round for means of defence against the enthusiastic and unrelenting Reformers. The forces thus engendered, created by various causes, and advancing at times in opposite directions, often came in contact with each other, and excited dissensions in her own bosom ; but they all strengthened her hands against the common foe. Having this great advantage over the Reformers, of being all subject to one head, to whom they professed im-

plicit obedience, the Catholics profited by these dissensions, from the increase of zeal and effort which they occasioned; while the controversy was stayed by the papal power, when it had gone so far as to threaten the internal security of the Church. The able and wary pontiffs, whom the exigency of the times called to the papal chair, as successors to the profligate Alexander and the luxurious Leo, managed these disputes with admirable discretion, though with less regard to consistency and purity of doctrine than to the protection of the common cause against its avowed enemies. They temporized between the opposing parties, delaying as much as possible the absolute decision of the matter, and finally caused that scale to preponderate on which the temporal interests of the Church seemed most intimately to depend. The fanaticism of a Spanish soldier, turned monk, created the order of the Jesuits, the most effective militia ever organized for the purposes of ecclesiastical warfare; resolute, cunning, and unscrupulous, they sacrificed the cause of Christian faith and morals to the necessities of the combat in which they were engaged. Fervor of devotional feeling, kindled by the exciting religious controversies which then agitated Europe, gave birth, among other sects, to that of the Port Royalists, or Jansenists, of France, composed of persons who still adhered with unflinching fidelity to the see of Rome, though in practice, and in many points of doctrine, they were more nearly allied to some parties among the Reformers. Two associations, animated by principles differing so widely from each other as those of the Jesuits and the Jansenists, could not long coexist in harmony within the same pale. Disputes on points of faith were carried on with bitter recriminations; and the contest proceeded so far, that the entire destruction of one or the other party at last became inevitable. Rome temporized as usual, but was obliged to act at last; and the suppression of the monastery of Port Royal, and the persecution of the Jansenists, showed how highly she valued the unscrupulous services of the followers of Loyola.

The controversy, so far as it was exclusively doctrinal, turned on the dark problems of predestination, free will, and saving grace, which have been almost constantly agitated in the Church during its whole history, and are still as far from a satisfactory solution as ever. The pious enthusiasm of the Jansenists, leading them to confess their utter unworthiness

in the sight of God, and their total incapacity to execute the divine commands, caused them to accept in all its severity the gloomy doctrine of St. Augustine. They held, that the grace of God is free and irresistible ; it is conferred upon the elect, not in consideration of their own merits, but by arbitrary appointment ; they cannot obtain it by their own acts, nor resist its effects whenever it is vouchsafed to them. Man is born with so strong an inclination to sin, that, without extraordinary aid from the Deity, he cannot perform a pious act. The human will is absolutely passive ; so that a good action, even after conversion, cannot be ascribed in any proper sense to the human agent, but is due to the operation of the Spirit. It is God that worketh in us, both to will and to do ; and there has been no free will for the creature since Adam's time, except to do evil. It is not denied, that all men may be converted, *if they wish* for conversion ; but they never can wish for it, unless the grace of God is imparted to them for that end.

Appalling as this doctrine seems, when nakedly stated, it had belonged to the faith of the Christian world at least since the time of Augustine. The church of Rome had held it in reverence for the authority of that father ; and the early Reformers, Luther and Calvin especially, state it without reserve, and engage in its defence with the utmost warmth. The former declares, that good and evil are attributable to God alone ; man commits sin from the necessary inclination of his will, which is enslaved to wickedness, being predetermined to it by divine power ; and when he inclines to good, he only follows the irresistible impulse of grace, which pushes him onward like an inanimate body, his own agency having no share whatever in the movement. This is the doctrine, certainly, of men who have made entire submission of their reason to their faith, and as such it was accepted and defended by the Jansenists, and their eloquent champion, Pascal. It is a part of that sacrifice which the penitent convert makes to the cause of religious truth, to humble the pride of his own intellect, and, in all the enthusiasm of self-abasement, to accept propositions as dark as these without question or reserve.

The Jesuits wished to impose no such terrible burden on their converts. Their object was to retain waverers in the Church, and to allure heretics again into its bosom, by im-

posing upon them no austerities of conduct, and no stumbling-blocks of doctrine. Lax and unscrupulous in the use of means, they preached a convenient system of morals, and an easy creed, to their converts. They aimed rather to justify sin than to commend holiness ; for they looked only to the external interests of the Church, which was already sure of the saints, and now stood in need, as they thought, of the services of the sinners. More subtile and ingenious than profound, they contrived intermediate systems wherewith to reconcile their own loose doctrines with the often repeated declarations of the Church and the teachings of the fathers. The treatise of the Spanish Jesuit, Molina, published in 1588, on the agreement between divine grace and human free-will, may be considered as the most general exposition of their belief on this thorny subject. According to this theory, the Deity foreknows not only every event which will actually take place, but also what would have happened under certain conditions, that in fact are never fulfilled. The necessary aid of the Spirit is imparted to those only who would have made good use of the freedom of the will, if they had possessed it. Consequently, men act from necessity ; but also act precisely as they would have done, had they been free. Divine grace is freely imparted to those who do not, indeed, merit it, but whose characters show a certain congruousness or fitness for its reception. This is the celebrated system of the "intermediate science," or the foresight of "contingent futures," as well as of actual events ; and of "congruousness," instead of *merit*, or *arbitrary appointment*, which is made the law of distribution of the divine assistance. It is evidently an ingenious attempt to inculcate the doctrine of Pelagius, without expressly contradicting the words of Augustine. The doctrine of predestination is retained ; but all events, so far as man is concerned, take place exactly as if they were altogether contingent, or dependent only on the free action of the human will. The just are irresistibly inclined to holiness by the action of divine grace ; but if a different appointment of Providence had left them entirely at liberty, they would have followed precisely the same course.

The Dominicans, who were ardent followers of Thomas Aquinas, and therefore held to the doctrines of predestination and efficacious grace without mitigation or reserve, stoutly

opposed this theory of the Jesuits, and very nearly succeeded in procuring its condemnation at Rome. But the intrigues of the latter caused the sentence to be postponed, and, while it was still under deliberation, the death of Clement the Eighth, and the numerous engagements of his successor, Paul the Fifth, caused so much delay, that the controversy passed out of notice and was forgotten. It is probable, that the dispute between these two orders would have gone much further, if the attention of both had not been diverted by their common hostility towards the Port Royalists, which finally caused a hollow peace to be concluded between them. Molinism continued to be taught by the Jesuits, and the Dominicans winked at what they could not approve.

In 1639, Jansenius, Bishop of Ypres, died just as he had completed his work called the "Augustinus," which had been the labor of his life, and which contained a kind of summary of the doctrines of Augustine respecting predestination and divine grace. It was published the year after his death; and, as it was a heavy and ill-written book, it would probably have attracted little notice, if accident had not rendered it the touchstone of dispute in the memorable controversy between the Port Royalists and the Jesuits. St. Cyran, the leader of the former party, had been the intimate friend of Jansenius, and now strongly recommended his work, as containing the whole secret of the doctrine of predestination. His associates, the pious and learned recluses of Port Royal des Champs, followed in his track, and defended the opinions of the Bishop of Ypres with so much ardor, that they were soon distinguished by the name of Jansenists. The Jesuits were enraged to find their own system of theology falling out of repute, while a dark shade was cast upon the character of their order by the superior reputation of their antagonists for sanctity of life and purity of doctrine. Not daring to controvert openly the opinions of Augustine, they vehemently assailed the work of Jansenius, as containing dangerous and heretical doctrine. Their outcries and artifices would probably have had little effect, if the Jansenists had not unluckily incurred the hatred both of Richelieu and Mazarin; the former imprisoned St. Cyran at Vincennes, and the latter openly countenanced the machinations of the Jesuits. Emboldened by such aid, the Jesuits fulminated the most atrocious calumnies against

the members of the hated sect, and left no stone unturned to effect their utter ruin. But their success depended upon maintaining the charge of heresy; for they had to do with men whose abilities and reputation were far greater than their own, and who acquired more public esteem from the very persecution under which they were suffering. Such adversaries as Arnauld, Nicole, Saci, and Pascal were more to be dreaded than simple theologians. They were men of philosophical minds and high literary merit. They had acquired zealous and powerful friends throughout the kingdom, and even at the court, by their talents, their virtues, and the signal services which they had rendered to literature and science. But in that age and country, the single charge of heresy was enough to effect their destruction.

In 1649, Father Cornet, Syndic of the Faculty of the Sorbonne, drew up five propositions on the mysteries of divine grace, which he denounced, as opinions drawn from the work of Jansenius by Arnauld and his followers. After a long contest at Rome, Innocent the Tenth finally decided that the propositions were heretical; and that one of them especially, which declared that Jesus Christ had not died for all men, was false, rash, and scandalous; and if understood to mean, that the Saviour had died for the elect alone, it was impious and blasphemous. But he said nothing about the question, whether these doctrines were actually contained in the "Augustinus." The Jansenists affirmed, that they could not be found there, and though they bowed with perfect submission to the authority of the Holy See, and admitted the five propositions to be heretical in the sense which was attached to them, they refused to condemn the dogma of efficacious grace which is essential for an act of piety, or to reject the authority of St. Augustine, which had always been revered in the Church. They took a distinction between the pope's right to judge of points of doctrine, and his authority to settle questions of fact; the former they admitted to the fullest extent, while they boldly denied the latter. Questions of this class, they said, can be determined only by the senses. Pascal always speaks with entire reverence of the authority of the Church, as represented by the supreme pontiff, in matters of faith; but respecting matters of fact, he holds the following bold language.

"It was in vain," he says, addressing the Jesuits, "that you

obtained a decree from Rome against Galileo, which condemned his opinion respecting the movement of the earth. *That* will never prove that it stands still; and if there is a series of constant observations to show that it turns on its axis, all the men in the world will never prevent it from turning, nor prevent themselves from turning along with it. Do not imagine, either, that the letters of Pope Zachariah, excommunicating St. Virgilius, because he maintained the existence of the antipodes, have annihilated this new world; and although he declared this opinion was a dangerous error, the King of Spain did well in believing Christopher Columbus, who had returned from this new world, rather than the opinion of the pope, who had never been there; and the Church gained a great advantage thereby, as a knowledge of the gospel was thus imparted to many nations, who would otherwise have perished in their sins." — *Lettres Provinciales*, pp. 348, 349.

All the theologians in France were now in arms upon the apparently simple question, whether the five propositions, admitted on all hands to be heretical, were really contained in the work of Jansenius, or not. Arnauld and his followers confidently asked to have them pointed out; the Jesuits accumulated all sorts of authorities, except the book itself, to prove that they were contained in it. The truth was, every body knew that the substance, but not the identical words, of the five propositions were to be found in the book; but the Jesuits dared not cite the passages confirmatory of this view, for then their opponents would have obtained an easy triumph, by showing that Jansenius had used Augustine's own words, and Rome was by no means prepared to repudiate the high authority of that father, "the doctor of grace." The Jesuits charged their antagonists with upholding Calvinism, and were themselves accused, in turn, of favoring Pelagianism. It was a pitiable thing, as D'Alembert says, to see the time and talents of the ablest men in the kingdom wasted on fantastic and interminable discussions about free will and divine grace, and on the important question, whether five unintelligible propositions were contained in a stupid book which nobody ever thought of reading. Persecuted, imprisoned, exiled on account of these vain disputes, and continually occupied in defending such a futile cause, how many years in their lives have philosophy and letters to mourn over as utterly wasted!

Among those who combated for Jansenius, no one so

much distinguished himself for zeal and vehemence as Arnauld. Inflexible, ardent, and indefatigable, he had all the qualities requisite for being the successful leader of a sect. In 1655, a priest of St. Sulpice refused absolution to the Duke de Liancourt, because he was a friend of the Port Royalists, and allowed his grandchild to be a pupil in their seminary. Arnauld took fire at this insult, and published two very severe letters, commenting on the bigotry and injustice evinced by this act. Among other offensive things, he said he had read the work of Jansenius, and could not find the heretical propositions in it; and that the gospel "offers us, in the case of St. Peter, the example of a just man, to whom the divine grace, without which nothing can be effected, was wanting, on an occasion when no one can say that he did not sin." For publishing these assertions, he was immediately arraigned before the Sorbonne as a contumacious heretic. The discussion excited great interest, for it was regarded as a decisive trial of strength between the two parties. The hall of the Sorbonne was crowded, as the Jesuits and their opponents mustered all their forces for the encounter; and the former, especially, brought in so many mendicant monks, as to give occasion for a sarcastic remark by Pascal, that it was more easy for them to find monks than arguments. The condemnation of Arnauld was inevitable; for the Jesuits had strengthened themselves by an alliance with the Dominicans and other orders, wrecks of the Middle Ages, whom a secret instinct brought together as opponents of the new order of things. The minority was composed in great part of the secular clergy. Sentence was passed in January, 1656, when the two assertions cited above were not only condemned as heretical, but Arnauld himself was for ever excluded from his seat in the faculty of theology.

The triumph of the Jesuits seemed complete; but their joy was at once checked and turned into dismay by the sudden appearance in the opposite ranks of a new champion, far more formidable than any whom they had hitherto encountered. Just before sentence was passed, appeared the first of Pascal's "Provincial Letters," as they are usually called, though the more proper title is, "Letters written by Louis de Montalte to one of his Friends in the Country." The others, eighteen in number, were published successively, at intervals of several weeks' duration, for more than a

year and a half. Never was more seasonable and effectual aid brought to the rescue of a sinking cause. These masterpieces of style and argument, of wit and eloquence, did more to ruin the name and the cause of the Jesuits, than all the discussions that had been urged in the schools of theology, and all the enemies they had provoked among the reigning powers of Europe. Eminently popular and intelligible in style, abounding with the happiest flashes of pleasantry and fancy, passing with ease and grace from the keenest ridicule to the loftiest invective, they were read and almost committed to memory by all classes of men, while the heavy and abusive answers to them passed unnoticed, and were soon forgotten. They provoked the unwilling praise even of Voltaire, who said that the earlier letters had more wit than the best comedies of Molière, and the later ones more sublimity than the finest compositions of Bossuet. The same excellent judge attributes to them the fixation of the French language, and says, that, after the lapse of more than a century, not a word or phrase employed in them had become obsolete. The clearness and precision with which the points at issue are explained, and the tone of severe morality and fervent piety which pervades these admirable letters, made them as persuasive and convincing as they were delightful. The Jesuits found themselves exposed to the ridicule and indignation of all Europe, in a publication destined to be as lasting and as widely diffused as the language in which it was written. They had no writers among their number capable of averting or returning this terrible blow ; for it was aptly said of them, that at all times " their penknives were more to be dreaded than their pens." The Jesuit Annat remarked, that, for an answer to the first fifteen letters, he had only to repeat fifteen times over, that the writer of them was a Jansenist.

In the first three letters, Pascal examines the points of dispute, which were involved in the trial of Arnauld. He exposes with great wit and severity the fraudulent alliance between the Jesuits and the Dominicans against the Jansenists, in which the two contracting parties covered up their fundamental differences of opinion by an abuse of language, using phrases which either had no meaning at all, or involved the grossest contradictions. The Dominicans had always maintained the doctrine of " efficacious grace " necessary for any good action, and that human liberty does not consist in

indifference, but is compatible with a certain kind of necessity which springs from the irresistible power of divine grace. The Jesuits, who were followers of Molina, denied both these dogmas, and affirmed the existence of "sufficient grace," and "immediate power" to do good or to abstain from it, without any extraneous aid. Their allies employed the same phrases, but attached a different meaning to them, understanding thereby, that the powers spoken of were of no effect without the additional aid of the Spirit. They covenanted to use these technicalities without any reference to the sense which the Molinists attached to them, on condition that the Jesuits would not oblige them to explain their whole meaning, and would continue to declare that the doctrine of the Thomists was orthodox. Here was fine scope for the sarcastic commentary of Pascal on the dogma of "sufficient grace," which did not suffice for the performance of any pious act, and of "immediate power," which was of no avail except by the special assistance of the Deity. The irony with which he exposes these gross tergiversations is keen but tempered, and flashes out into eloquent indignation only at the close, when he comes to speak of the great purpose of this unholy compact, which was to effect the condemnation of the Jansenists.

By adopting the epistolary form of composition, which admits great freedom of transition and colloquial piquancy of style, and by throwing most of the argument into the garb of dialogue, Pascal contrived to render even this abstruse and perplexed controversy intelligible and pleasant to all classes of readers. He had less difficulty with the remainder of his task, which was to expose the false morality of the Jesuit casuists. From writers of established reputation among them, such as Escobar, Busenbaum, Bauny, and others, he has accumulated a long list of scandalous decisions, and has dwelt upon them with so much wit and severity, that he has rendered the very name of Jesuitism a synonyme for chicane, deception, and falsehood. It is a curious corroboration of this fact, that the popularity of his Letters in France introduced the word *escobarder*, meaning "to prevaricate, or shuffle," into common use in the language. Pascal is often accused, though without reason, of treating the Jesuits unfairly, by holding the whole society responsible for the unauthorized doctrines of individual mem-

bers. He cites those works only which were of high repute among them, which were adopted by them as guides in the confessional chair, and had passed through many editions. Escobar's treatise on Moral Theology, which Pascal quotes most frequently, went through forty editions, and more than fifty editions were published of the casuistical writings of Busenbaum. The Jesuits, also, were too proud and resolute, too firmly attached to each other and to the reputation of the society as a whole, to censure or repudiate works which they had once sanctioned. They yielded nothing, they disavowed nothing, but perished in the attempt to defend all. They accused their assailant of making unfair quotations, but did not deny that the writers whom he cited were authoritative. Pascal replied, that he had read Escobar twice through, and had not cited a passage from the other authors, without seeing it in the book, and carefully examining the context.

In truth, the ethical doctrines which he reprobates were interwoven with the fundamental principles of the society, and were a necessary consequence of the position which the Jesuits had assumed, and the mission which they had undertaken to accomplish. Their society was the last great instrument of the old papal dominion. It came into the world too late for its work ; for the great schism had taken place, and no array of forces, however well disciplined, could prevent the fatal consequences of such a rent in the Church. They undertook to reverse the declaration of the Saviour, that the children of this world are, in their generation, wiser than the children of light. They borrowed the weapons of the devil to serve heaven with, and aimed to subjugate the world by conforming themselves to its spirit. When they could not face the nobler instincts of humanity, they made skilful and unhesitating use of all the baser appetites and passions, and became the ready tools and apologists of those who wished to compromise between conscience and convenience. They preached a mitigated doctrine of religion and morals, and thereby made themselves acceptable at court, and gained the private ear of the monarchs, of whom they were the favorite confessors. The Jesuits Annat, Le Tellier, and La Chaise governed France by granting absolution on easy terms to the sins of Louis the Fourteenth ; the gratitude of the king being proportioned to the number of his offences, and to the indulgence with which they were consid-

ered. Their precepts formed the monstrous anomaly of his religious character, — a compound of bigoted devotion and moral turpitude. The Jesuits were too cunning to profit in their own persons by the laxity of the principles which they preached to others. Strange as it may seem, they were often irreproachable, and even austere, in their private conduct. This contradiction occasioned the sarcastic remark, that they purchased heaven very dearly for themselves, but sold it at a very cheap bargain to their converts.

Acute and subtile in reasoning, they reduced their false morality to a system, and framed consistent rules for their own guidance in the practices of confession and absolution. They defined sin to be a wilful violation of the law of God, and measured its enormity by the penitent's consciousness of its true character, and by his free consent to its commission. Strong temptation and temporary forgetfulness of the divine command palliated the offence, by hiding its sinful nature from the view of the transgressor. Since hardly any one loves sin *as such*, or for its own sake, a sufficient mantle is hereby provided to cover the greatest enormities. Habit, or even bad example, which increases the force of temptation, partially excuses the act ; that which is not wantonly or gratuitously committed is not to be severely judged. Other grounds of pardon were also recognized. One of the most abominable of these is the doctrine of mental reservations, which allows one to make a promise coupled with a secret condition in his own mind, which he knows is not understood by the person to whom the promise is given. A man may say what is true in the meaning that he attaches to it, though he is aware that it will be interpreted in a different sense. Even perjury is allowable, if one only swears outwardly, without inwardly intending what he professes. Duelling is forbidden ; but if a person is in danger of losing an office, or forfeiting the good opinion of his ruler, by refusing to engage in a duel, he is not to be condemned for fighting ; for then he does not wish to violate the law, but only to preserve his honor or his station.

The doctrine of probability is another striking example of perverted casuistry. In doubtful cases, an individual might disregard the scruples of his own conscience, and follow the authority of a single writer, if one could be found, who maintained that the desired course of conduct was not unlawful.

When there is a conflict of authorities, the opinion upheld by any one of them must be deemed probable, and we are at liberty to select the most indulgent teacher. Moreover, transgression is no longer heinous, if the intention be directed only to the innocent qualities of the act, while its sinful characteristics are put aside and forgotten. In this way, a slight turn of the thoughts was held to exonerate from guilt. Thus, simony is forbidden ; but if a person gives money for a benefice, not in order to bribe the bestower, but to gain a means of more effectually serving the Church of God, he is blameless. A man may kill another who gives him a blow, or even publishes a libel against him, provided he does not act from the spirit of hatred or vengeance, but only with a view to retrieve his injured honor.

These were the detestable maxims of Jesuitical casuistry, maxims deliberately recommended in their books and taught from the confessional chair, which Pascal so happily exposed. By holding them up to public reprobation and contempt, he rendered no less signal service to morality and religion than to the almost desperate fortunes of the Port Royalists. But even the publication of the "Provincial Letters," though it covered the assailants with shame, would not, probably, have sufficed for the protection of the assailed, if a supposed miracle, perhaps the best accredited of its class in modern times, had not taken place, and created a popular belief, of which the Jansenists instantly availed themselves, that Heaven itself was interposing in behalf of the persecuted sect.

Pascal's niece, a girl about eleven years of age, the daughter of Madame Perier, resided as a pupil in the Port Royal nunnery. The poor child had been afflicted for more than three years with a *fistula lacrymalis* in the corner of the left eye. It had affected the bones of the nose and palate, and frightfully disfigured her externally, one side of her face being entirely ulcerated. After the ablest physicians and surgeons of Paris had exhausted their skill upon the case without effect, they determined to make trial of the actual cautery, and the day for this painful operation was fixed. Meanwhile, a collector of relics in the city, named M. de la Potterie, pretended to have gained possession of one of the thorns which had composed the crown that the soldiers platted and put upon our Saviour's head. As Voltaire remarks, by what means such an extraordinary relic was preserved and

transported from Jerusalem to the Faubourg St. Jacques we are not informed. But the populace believed in the Holy Thorn, and the members of the several religious communities vied with each other in their eagerness to have it exhibited at their respective establishments. Among others, the Port Royal nuns requested to see it, and it was carried to them on the 24th of March, 1656. It was placed on a little altar within the grate of the choir, and a procession of the pupils and nuns marched by, singing appropriate hymns, and each in her turn kissing the holy relic. One of the instructers stood near, and could not help shuddering as she saw the disfigured little girl approach. "Recommend yourself to God, my child," she exclaimed, "and touch your diseased eye with the Holy Thorn." The command was obeyed, and the girl instantly felt the assurance, as she afterwards declared, that she was healed. She told one of her young companions of the fact that night, and the next day it was made known to the nuns, who examined the eye, and found the cure was complete. There was no tumor, no exudation of matter, not even a scar.

Three or four days afterwards, Dalencé, one of the surgeons who were engaged to apply the hot iron, came to the house, and asked to see the patient. She was brought to him, but he did not recognize her, and said again that he wished to see the girl whose eye and cheek were ulcerated. "She now stands before you," was the reply. Amazed at such an announcement, he examined the little girl with great care, and could not find any trace of the disease. He then sent for his two associates, who repeated the examination, and declared that the patient was entirely cured. The report of this miracle created great sensation in Paris. Crowds flocked to Port Royal, to behold and admire the Holy Thorn. The queen mother deputed M. Felix, first surgeon of the king, who enjoyed a high reputation for probity and skill, to inquire into the truth of the story. He questioned the nuns and the surgeons, drew up an account of the origin, progress, and end of the disease, attentively examined the girl, and at last declared, in a paper attested by his signature, that neither nature nor art had had any share in the cure, but that it was attributable to God alone. The cry was now universal, that divine power had interposed in behalf of the Jansenists, and their enemies were covered with confusion and dismay.

The severe measures that had been instituted against the Port Royal society were instantly relaxed. The nuns were again allowed to receive their pupils, the illustrious recluses returned to the spot consecrated by their studies and devotions, and even Arnauld came forth from his hiding-place, and gave God thanks. Mademoiselle Perier lived seventy-five years after this event, without any return of the malady. She was still alive when the poet Racine drew up his narrative of the affair, from which we have taken this account.

The generation which has given credit to the wonders of animal magnetism has no right to laugh at the miracle of the Holy Thorn. Putting aside the inference respecting supernatural agency, the fact itself, attested by such men as Felix, Arnauld, Racine, and Pascal, who had full opportunity to satisfy themselves of the truth of the statement, cannot be lightly questioned. An almost desperate malady was suddenly cured under the circumstances related. Is it reasonable to suppose, that this event was produced by the special interposition of the Deity in behalf of the Jansenists? Thinking and judicious persons at the present day will answer this question, without hesitation, in the negative. They will admit the mysterious character of disease, and the remarkable results often produced by the working of occult natural causes, like the wonderful operations of sympathy, and the curative effects of a lively imagination and strong emotions. But rather than admit the interference of supernatural causes, they will accept the commentary of Voltaire, apart from the diabolical sneer with which it is uttered. "It is not very likely," says the old scoffer, "that God, who makes no miracles to impart a knowledge of our religion to nineteen twentieths of mankind, to whom this religion is either unknown or an object of horror, did actually interrupt the order of nature for a little girl, in order to justify a few nuns, who pretended that Cornelius Jansen did not write about a dozen lines which were attributed to him, or that he wrote them with a different intention from that imputed to him by the Jesuits."

Neither the publication of the "Provincial Letters," nor the miracle of the Holy Thorn, sufficed to avert for a long period the persecution and final ruin of the sect of the Jansenists. But the respite thus procured lasted till the death of Pascal, who was thus spared the bitter anguish of behold-

ing the defeat and dispersion of his beloved associates. His physical sufferings now became extreme, and, in 1658, they were increased by a long-continued toothache, which almost entirely deprived him of sleep. During the restless hours of the night, thus passed in an agony of pain, his mind reverted to his former mathematical pursuits, and, as a mere diversion, he meditated and solved his famous problems relative to the cycloid. He proposed to find the measure and centre of gravity of any segment whatever of the curve, and the dimensions and centres of gravity of the solids which such a segment forms by revolving round the abscissa or the ordinate. A reward was publicly offered to any geometer who should be able to solve these problems, and the most distinguished mathematicians then in Paris were appointed as judges for the trial. The task proposed was one of no ordinary difficulty; for Leibnitz and Newton had not yet appeared to develope the marvellous powers of the infinitesimal calculus, which now enables the tyro in science to answer more intricate questions than these with ease and precision. But two attempts were made to gain the prize; one by the Jesuit Lallouère, and the other by Wallis, the English mathematician. Both were judged to be unsatisfactory, and Pascal, who had hitherto kept himself concealed under the signature of Amos Dettonville, an anagram of Louis de Montalte, the name affixed to the "Provincial Letters," then published his own solutions, which commanded the applause of all the scientific world. A controversy ensued with the disappointed competitors; but the opinion of those who were competent to decide such questions was so decisive in favor of Pascal, that it is not necessary to review the grounds of the dispute.

The mind of the religious enthusiast could not long be diverted by such labors from the more solemn topics which had now for years engrossed his attention. His devotional exercises became more and more absorbing, and the practices of penitence and self-denial, to which he submitted, were rapidly consuming his enfeebled powers of life. Devoting nearly his whole income to the service of the poor, he deprived himself of every luxury, and of most of the comforts of ordinary existence. In a small chamber, from which he had caused even the tapestry to be removed, lest it should gratify his eye, and where he would not allow himself

the services of a single domestic, so long as his strength sufficed for making his own bed, he passed most of his time in prayer and the study of the Scriptures. To this cheerless and unfurnished apartment men distinguished in every walk of science and letters frequently resorted, to profit by the conversation of the greatest genius of his country, and perhaps of his age. He talked with vivacity and wit, as might be expected from the author of the "Provincial Letters," and displayed without effort or reserve the stores of his information and the vast range of his intellect. Human nature is weak, and he could not but be gratified and flattered to find his conversation so acceptable to others, and to observe the superiority of his spirit to theirs. But this pleasure was a weakness, it was even a sin, in the eyes of the pious devotee. It was to be mortified, with the other enticements of the flesh, and to be kept in subjection to the love of God and the hope of heaven. He wore a girdle, with sharp points on the inside, next to his flesh, and when he felt any movement of vanity or extraordinary pleasure in conversation, he pressed the iron torture more closely to his side, that physical pain might remind him of his frailty and his duty. Pitiable and perverted, indeed, though fervent and pure in him, was the religious faith which led to the infliction of such gratuitous suffering.

In strict conformity to his principle, that it was necessary to renounce all the pleasures of this world, he tried to stifle even the ordinary impulses of natural affection, and to preserve a cold and rigid exterior to his nearest friends, even when his heart was overflowing with kindness and love. He would not permit the caresses of his sister's children, saying that it was the indulgence of a sinful love ; but he showed his real tenderness for them by many substantial proofs. Madame Perier once complained to her sister, that their brother spoke coldly to her, and even seemed to be annoyed when she was rendering to him the most affectionate services in his illness. Jacqueline, who shared his religious fervor, understood his motives better, and explained them. "And in truth," says the elder sister, "when there was occasion for my brother's assistance, he showed so much eagerness to embrace it, and so many proofs of affection, that I had no longer any reason to doubt that he loved me." His kindness was not confined to those with whom he was connected by

natural ties ; on the sick and destitute stranger his bounty was lavished with all the heroism of benevolence. During his last illness, he had given a lodging in his house to a poor man and his son, from whom he received no return but gratitude. The son was attacked with the small-pox, and could not be carried to another habitation without danger. Pascal's feeble condition required the constant care of his sister, and as her children had not had this disease, he desired to save them from the risk of receiving the infection through their mother's attendance upon himself. Under these circumstances, weak and suffering as he was, he gave up his own home to the sick boy, and went to reside at the house of his sister.

Except his elder sister, Madame Perier, he was now alone in the world. His father had died in 1651, and the loss had made a deep impression upon him ; for the similarity of their characters and pursuits had drawn them together in a closer and more affectionate intimacy than that which usually exists between parent and child. A letter which he wrote on this occasion is preserved among his works, and shows a spirit of the most exalted piety, without a trace of cant or affected feeling. Ten years afterwards, he lost Jacqueline also, the infant actress, whose graceful pleading had redeemed their father from exile, and whose later years had been entirely consecrated to God's service in the nunnery at Port Royal. She had become sub-prioress in this institution, and her death was hastened by perplexity and grief, after the machinations of the Jesuits had at length caused the inexorable decree to go forth, that all the Jansenist nuns should subscribe the formulary, which contained an explicit renunciation of the opinions they had so long cherished. Strange effect, that a perverted faith and ecclesiastical persecution should cause a woman to die of grief, because required to sign a declaration, that the five propositions in their heretical sense were actually written in the book of Jansenius ! The historian of the Port Royalists records the remark which she made on her death-bed, that she was "the first victim of the formulary." Pascal was tenderly attached to her, and when informed of her death, exclaimed with a sigh, "God grant that my end may be like hers ! "

His own life was now rapidly drawing to a close, though one work still remained for him to accomplish. It was meet that a spirit touched to so fine issues should not leave the

world without bequeathing to it a more valuable and befitting memorial of united genius and piety than was contained in the letters respecting the controversy with the Jesuits. For three years before his death, the progress of his disease, and the paroxysms of pain that he endured, left only infrequent and short intervals during which his mind was capable of effort ; but these he zealously employed in making preparations for a great work on the philosophy of human nature and the proofs of the Christian religion. On these subjects he wrote down detached thoughts, as they occured to him, upon loose scraps of paper ; and when he was incapable of holding the pen for himself, a faithful domestic sat by his bedside, and wrote from his dictation. In this way there was accumulated a mass of unconnected hints and aphorisms, which he was not allowed to arrange and complete.

In the summer of 1662, another painful disease was added to those which had already undermined his constitution and brought him to the brink of the grave. When this malady was at its height, frequently depriving him of consciousness, he was removed to his sister's house for the reason already mentioned. There he tranquilly occupied himself in preparing for death. He made his will, leaving large sums to the poor ; and would have bequeathed to them his whole property, if the condition of his sister's children, who were not rich, had not required his aid. As he could not do more for the sick and the destitute, he wished at least to die among them, and he eagerly desired his friends to carry him to the Hospital for the Incurables. They could dissuade him from executing this intention only by promising, that, if he recovered, he should be free to devote his whole life and property to the service of the poor. In the beginning of August, as his end was obviously nigh at hand, he called with great earnestness for the last services of the Church. This request was at length granted, after a fainting-fit had occurred, which lasted so long that his friends believed he was dead. But he recovered sufficiently to raise himself on the couch, and receive the sacrament with marks of resignation and deep feeling, which drew tears from all the beholders. A moment afterwards, he fell into convulsions, which closed the scene. He died on the 29th of August, 1662, aged thirty-nine years. In the church of St. Etienne du Mont, at Paris, a marble tablet on one of the pillars near the great altar, with a simple in-

scription, informs the reader that he is standing upon the tomb of Pascal.

"Such," says his able biographer, Bossut, "was this extraordinary man, who was endowed by nature with all the gifts of the understanding; a geometer of the first rank, a profound logician, a lofty and eloquent writer. If we remember, that, in the course of a very short life, and while suffering under almost constant attacks of disease, he invented the arithmetical machine, the principles of the calculation of chances, and the method of solving the problems respecting the cycloid; that he finally determined the great question, which was dividing the opinions of the scientific world, concerning the pressure of the atmostphere; that he was the first to establish by mathematical proofs the general laws of the equilibrium of fluids; that he wrote one of the most perfect works which ever appeared in the French language; that in his "Thoughts" there are passages of unrivalled eloquence and depth of reflection,—we shall be ready to believe, that a greater genius never existed in any country or in any age."

The loose hints and unconnected fragments, which he had prepared for his great work on the proofs of the Christian religion, were first collected and published in 1670, under the title of "Thoughts of M. Pascal upon Religion and some other Topics." They were left at his death in a state of utter confusion, and in the first edition many of them were suppressed, and the others were printed in a very defective arrangement, so that portions of the work appeared very obscure. Bossut superintended a complete edition of them in 1779, having diligently examined the original manuscripts, and perfected the classification which was commenced by Condorcet. A few years before, Voltaire had published an edition, with notes such as might be expected from one of his character and principles. He hated Pascal's creed, and called him "a sublime misanthrope"; but according to his own confession, he had studied the "Provincial Letters" and the "Thoughts," till he almost knew them by heart. We read them now as general aphorisms, which apparently have little immediate connection with each other, though the leading purpose of the writer is sufficiently obvious, and they all seem to converge towards the great questions respecting human nature and destiny. The fine discernment of the writer, the scientific exactness and condensation of the style, are the more apparent from the broken and fragmentary condition of the "Thoughts." There is a want of roundness and flow in the

composition, but it is admirable for terseness and epigrammatic point. Sometimes he is hurried away by the love of antithesis, and the expression is often so elliptical as to be obscure. But the original and striking character of the reflections, the keen analysis of motives, the vivacity and energy of the style, the rapid and forcible progress of the arguments, and the singular richness and novelty of the illustrations, command the reader's attention through all these disadvantages. A more impressive and eloquent work does not exist in the language.

The "Thoughts" are deeply tinged with the despondency of the writer's mind, and with the peculiarities of his religious opinions. He seems to triumph in exposing the weakness and imperfection of human nature, and the vanity of human pursuits. The corruption of the heart and the weakness of the intellect are the themes on which he most willingly expatiates, using at times bitter sarcasm and the loftiest invective. "His melancholy genius," says Hallam, "plays in wild and rapid flashes, like the lightning round the scathed oak, about the fallen greatness of man." But it is not with the mocking spirit of a satirist that he dilates upon the fallen and wretched condition of our race. In his eyes, man is weak and degraded, but not contemptible; his view is fixed as much upon the heights from which he has fallen, as upon the abyss into which he is plunged. His magnificent lamentations are uttered in the spirit of Jeremiah weeping over the sins of his nation, and pointing out the ruin with which it is menaced. He seeks to humble only that he may exalt, to point out the frailty and wretchedness of man's condition in this world, only that his attention may be diverted from it, and fixed upon the unutterable splendors of the life to come. "Man is so great," he says, "that his grandeur appears from the knowledge he has of his own misery. A tree knows not that it is wretched. True, it is sad to know that we are miserable; but it is also a mark of greatness to be aware of this misery. Thus all the wretchedness of man proves his nobleness. It is the unhappiness of a great lord, the misery of a dethroned king." The misery of our present condition is aggravated by the consciousness that we have fallen from a state of innocence and peace. Like the poet, Pascal finds that there is no greater grief than the recollection of happiness formerly enjoyed. "Who, but a discrowned monarch," he asks, "is

grieved that he does not possess a throne? Who thinks himself unhappy, because he has but one mouth? And who is not unhappy, if he has but one eye? No one ever thought of sorrowing, because he has not three eyes; but he is inconsolable, if he has but one."

The chief purpose of the work is to show man's need of religion, in order both to explain the enigma of his present state, and to console him in the midst of privation and suffering. The argument is not addressed to the understanding, but to the feelings; and its aim is rather to persuade than to convince. "The heart has its reasons," he says, "which the intellect knoweth not of; we perceive this truth in a thousand things. It is the heart, and not the reason, which finds out God; and this is perfect faith, God made known to the heart." Metaphysical proofs of a God, he continues, are so far removed from the ordinary sphere of human reason, and so abstruse, that they make little impression; if serviceable to a few, they will be so only so long as the demonstration is before them; an hour afterwards, they will fear they have been deceived. Cicero expresses the same thought still more clearly. *Nescio quo modo, dum lego, assentior; cum posui librum, et mecum ipse cœpi cogitare, assensio omnis illa elabitur.* Pascal argues further, that this kind of proof can lead only to a speculative knowledge of God, and to know him in this manner is nearly as bad as to be entirely ignorant of him. In order to know God like a Christian, man must become acquainted with the misery of his own condition, his unworthiness, and his need of a mediator. These truths must not be separated, or they will become not only useless, but injurious. "To know God, without being aware of our own misery, gives birth to pride; to be conscious of our own wretchedness, without any knowledge of Jesus Christ, leads to despair. The knowledge of the Saviour exempts us both from pride and despair; for in him we find God, and the secret of our miserable state, and the means of rising above it." We must become acquainted with human things, he adds, before loving them; but we must love divine things, in order to know them.

It is obvious, that Pascal's intention was to create the state of mind which is necessary for the due reception of religious truth, before offering any arguments in direct support of that truth. He seeks first to humble the pride of the intellect, to

point out the enigmas and inconsistencies of our nature, its greatness and feebleness, its pride and abjectness, to convince mankind of their degraded and corrupt condition, and then to show, in the sublime mysteries of Christian faith, at once an explanation of their fallen state, a solace for their sufferings in this world, and a glorious hereafter. "Every one," he says, "must take his side, and range himself in the ranks either of Pyrrhonism or dogmatism; for he who thinks to remain neuter will be a Pyrrhonist *par excellence;* this neutrality is the very essence of Pyrrhonism." But the difficulty of making the choice is great; for "reason confutes the dogmatists, and nature confounds the skeptics; we have an incapacity of demonstration, which the former cannot overcome; we have a conception of truth, which the latter cannot disturb." Thus bandied about between opposing difficulties, constantly urged to continue a pursuit which can never be successful, man is disappointed, helpless, and miserable, unless light come to him from heaven, and an almighty arm be stretched out for his aid. "Man," he observes, "has a secret instinct, that leads him to seek diversion and employment from without; this springs from the consciousness of his continual misery. He has another secret impulse, remaining from the grandeur of his primitive state, which teaches him that happiness can exist only in repose. And from these two contrary instincts, there arises in him an obscure idea, concealed in the depths of the soul, that prompts him to seek repose through agitation, and even to fancy that the contentment he does not enjoy will yet be found, if by struggling still a little longer he can open the door to rest. Thus passes his whole life. He seeks for repose by contending against certain obstacles; and when he has surmounted them, repose itself becomes insupportable."

The book is so incomplete and fragmentary, that it is very difficult to select passages which will give a fair view of the drift of his remarks, or the general characteristics of his manner. His language, also, from its remarkable compression and terseness, hardly admits of being translated without losing most of its vigor. But the following extract may give some idea of his power of thought and utterance.

"Let not man confine his view simply to the objects which surround him; let him contemplate all nature in its lofty and entire majesty; let him consider the great orb set like an ever-burning

beacon to illumine the universe ; let the earth appear to him like a point, in comparison with the vast circle which this luminary seems to describe ; let himw onder that this vast orbit is itself but a delicate point, when compared with that of the stars which roll in the firmament. If our sight stops here, the imagination passes beyond. The intellect ceases to conceive, before nature fails to supply. All that we see of the universe is but a spot imperceptibly small in the ample bosom of nature. No idea approaches the extent of infinite space. In vain would we dilate our conceptions ; we image to ourselves only atoms, in comparison with the reality. It is an infinite sphere, of which the centre is everywhere, and the circumference nowhere. And it is one of the most striking marks of the omnipotence of God, that our imagination is lost in this thought.

"And now, returning to himself, let him consider what man is, in comparison with all that is ; let him look upon himself as lost in this by-corner of nature ; and from the appearance of this little dungeon in which he is lodged — this visible world — let him learn to estimate himself, and the cities and kingdoms of this earth, at their true value. . . . . In truth, what is man in the midst of nature ? A cipher in respect to the infinite, and all in comparison with nonentity, — a mean betwixt nothing and all. He is infinitely far removed from the two extremes ; and his being is not less distant from the nothingness whence he was drawn, than from the infinite in which he is ingulfed. In the order of intelligent things, his intellect holds the same rank that his body does in the expanse of nature ; all that he can do is to discern some phenomena from the midst of things, in eternal despair of ever knowing their beginning or their end. All things came from nothing, and extend even to the infinite. Who can follow this astonishing progress ? The author of these marvels understands them ; to all others they are unintelligible. We burn with desire to know every thing, and to build a tower which shall rise even to the heavens. But our whole edifice cracks, and the earth opens beneath us even to the abyss."

With this striking picture of the insignificance and weakness of man, contrast the following sublime reflection upon his grandeur as a thinking soul. "Man is the feeblest branch of nature, but it is a branch that thinks. It is not necessary that the whole universe should rise in arms to crush him. A vapor, a drop of water, is enough to kill him. But if the universe should crush him, he would still be nobler than that which causes his death ; for he knows that he is dying, and the universe knows nothing of its power over him." It is in

view of contrarieties like these, that Pascal exclaims, "What an enigma, then, is man! What a strange, chaotic, and contradictory being! Judge of all things, feeble earth-worm, depositary of the truth, mass of uncertainty, glory and butt of the universe, — if he boasts himself, I abase him; if he humbles himself, I make my boast of him; and I always contradict him, till he comprehends that he is an incomprehensible monster."

The great doctrine of the book, to which most of the preceding illustrations are subservient, is the duty of the entire submission of human reason in matters of faith. To this precept the writer recurs again and again, and seems never to be weary of inculcating it. Unquestionably it is a great truth, but a most perilous one to define and apply. He admits, that "reason alone can tell where reason ends." The humility of his spirit in enforcing this dogma appears the more remarkable, when contrasted with his singular boldness and independence of thought upon all other topics. On all matters of scientific inquiry, his resistance to the weight of authority, and his assertion of the right of private judgment, is one of the most striking traits of his genius. "Truth," he says, "is the most ancient of all things, — older than all the opinions that have been had of it; whatever aspect antiquity may present, truth, however lately discovered, ought always to have the advantage over it; it is gross ignorance to imagine that nature began to be, when it began to be known." His success in refuting the old scholastic doctrine of nature's abhorrence of a vacuum probably strengthened this independence of mind, and led him to dwell upon it with more earnestness. His fine remark, in speaking of the weight due to authority, that the ancients after all were only the children among mankind, has been so often cited without giving him credit for it, that it is worth while to quote it in his own words, though with considerable abridgment.

"Animals make no progress. The hexagonal cells of bees were as accurately measured and finished a thousand years ago, as they are at the present day. It is not so with man, who is born for eternity. He is ignorant at first, but constantly acquires knowledge, not only from his own experience, but from the accumulated wisdom of his predecessors. Men are now very nearly in the same condition that the ancient philosophers would have arrived at, if they could have lived till our times, constantly add-

ing to their knowledge what they might have acquired by study during so many centuries. All the generations of men during so many ages ought to be considered only as one man, who lives for ever, and is continually learning. Hence, how improper it is to respect philosophers for their antiquity! For as old age is the period farthest removed from infancy, who does not see, that the old age of this universal man ought not to be sought for in the years nearest to his birth, but in those most remote from it? Those whom we call the ancients were truly young in all things, and formed the infancy of mankind. As we have joined to their knowledge the experience of the ages which came after them, it is in us that this antiquity is to be found which we are wont to revere in others."

As Lord Bacon says nearly the same thing, it is not unlikely that Pascal derived the first hint of it from the writings of the English philosopher; which is a farther proof of what we have already had reason to suspect, that he had profited by these writings in the earlier part of his career. After this resolute assertion of the liberties of mind in questions of human science, it is lamentable to find Pascal carrying his principle of submission in matters of faith so far as deliberately to state the following monstrous and revolting doctrine. "What can be more contrary to the rules of our wretched justice, than to damn eternally an infant incapable of volition, for an offence in which he seems to have had no share, as it was committed six thousand years before he was born? Certainly, nothing shocks us more rudely than this doctrine; and yet, without this mystery, the most inconceivable of all, we are incomprehensible even to ourselves. Man is more inconceivable without this mystery, than the mystery is inconceivable to man."

Only this submissive and childlike spirit in religious inquiry could have retained the otherwise bold and inquisitive intellect of Pascal in bondage to the Romish Church. This frame of mind may be partially accounted for by his experience in the Jansenist controversy, which had led him to put great stress upon the distinction between the *droit* and the *fait*, between questions of doctrine and matters of fact. He was thus induced blindly to accept whatever was taught by the fathers and the councils, while he opposed with unflinching skepticism the doctrines of the scholastic philosophy. He refers frequently to the Catholic doctrine respecting the

eucharist, and the Calvinistic one of the transmission of sin, in illustration of his favorite theme, the incapacity of human nature to comprehend religious truth. The following acute remark relates to the practice of auricular confession.

"Is it not true, that we hate the truth and those who utter it to us, while we love those who practise pleasant deceptions upon us, and wish to be esteemed by them as different beings from what we are? Here is a proof of it which shocks me. The Catholic religion does not require one to make known his sins indifferently to all the world; it permits him to conceal them from the view of other men in general; but it makes an exception in favor of one person, to whom it commands him to disclose the very depths of his heart, and to appear in his sight as he really is. There is but one man in the world whom it commands us thus to disabuse; and it binds him to inviolable secrecy, so that this knowledge is in him as if it did not exist at all. Can we imagine any thing more charitable and mild? And yet, the corruption of man is such, that he finds even this law too severe, and it is one of the principal reasons which have caused a great part of Europe to revolt against the Church. How unjust and unreasonable is the heart of man, to object to doing to one person what it would be only fair to do to all men! For is it just that we should deceive them? There are different degrees in this aversion to the truth; but it may be said to exist in all in some measure; for it is inseparable from self-love."

This is very ingenious, but it is sophistical. We do not love nor practise deception *as such*, or for its own sake. We detest the flatterer, and cast him off as soon as his falsehood is exposed. We are pleased, indeed, when we learn that others entertain a good opinion of us; but this is only a mark of the kindly sympathy which binds societies of men together. The avowal, whether true or false, of this opinion is a matter of no substantive importance; it is the fact alone in which we are interested; if thoroughly convinced of the existence of this opinion, we could very well dispense with the expression of it. We are reluctant to expose our faults, because unwilling to fall in the estimation of our friends, or to afford matter of triumph to our enemies; but concealment is not prized for its own sake, nor from any wish to deceive. We fear ungenerous and harsh constructions; if the fault could be made known with all its palliating circumstances, and thus seem as excusable in the eyes of oth-

ers as it appears in our own, its disclosure would be a matter of comparative indifference. Some feelings, also, though perfectly innocent, are sensitive, and fear the light ; we conceal them, certainly without any consciousness of wrong, or any possibility of injurious deception. Faults are also hidden ; for though wrong in themselves, they may be harmless in respect to others, whose good opinion we prize, and therefore may be concealed from them without leading them into error, or exposing them to hazard. It is altogether too harsh to call silence deception, when it is practised under a belief that others have no right to know a secret which in no wise concerns their welfare, and which they would be likely to misconstrue, because all the attendant circumstances cannot be explained to them. Protestants object to auricular confession, not so much from unwillingness to confess their secret sins, as from a dislike of the assumption of authority, by a person weak and fallible like themselves, to know and judge their actions. Veracity is always a duty ; but Pascal forgets that silence also is often a virtue. He might have been reminded of it by the next illustration which he gives of man's insincerity and opposition to the truth, from the fact, that the best friends often speak unguardedly of each other when out of hearing, and from the mischief that is often caused by indiscreet reports of such conversations. If every man, says he, knew all that his best friend had said of him, there would not be three friends left in the world. Such reports often do mischief, we admit ; yet not because they are true, but because they are imperfect. If one reported not only the indiscreet remark, but all the circumstances which led to it, the innocent intention with which it was uttered, and the unwillingness of the speaker to cause pain or commit a wrong, no breach of friendship would ensue.

We have no space to carry any further our analysis of this remarkable book, which such competent judges as Dr. Arnold have ranked among the "greatest masterpieces of human genius." Our remarks, desultory and incomplete as the work itself, must end with the citation of a few more of the aphorisms, though much of their spirit necessarily escapes in a translation. Speaking of the Jewish Scriptures, Pascal observes : —

"I find no reason to doubt the truth of a book which contains

all these things; for there is a great difference between a book which a person makes and throws among a people, and a book which of itself makes a people. We cannot doubt that the book is at least as old as the people."

"Between us and heaven, hell or annihilation, there is only human life, which of all things in the world is the frailest."

"When we would show any one that he is mistaken, our best course is to observe on what side he considers the subject, for his view of it is generally right on his side, and admit to him, that he is right so far. He will be satisfied with this acknowledgment, that he was not wrong in his judgment, but only inadvertent in not looking at the whole of the case. For we are less ashamed of not having seen the whole, than of being deceived in what we do see; and this may perhaps arise from an impossibility of the understanding being deceived in what it does see, just as the perceptions of the senses, as such, must always be true."

"Nature has its perfections, to show that it is the image of God, and its faults, to show that it is only his image."

"Unbelievers are the most credulous persons in the world; they believe the miracles of Vespasian, in order not to believe those of Moses."

"The multitude which cannot be reduced to unity is confusion; and the unity which does not depend on multitude is tyranny."

"The synagogue did not perish, because it was a type of the church; but as it was only a type, it fell into servitude. The symbol existed until the reality appeared, in order that the church might always be visible, either in the image which foreshadowed it, or in reality."

"What can be more ridiculous and vain than the doctrine of the Stoics, and what more baseless than their whole reasoning? They conclude, that what a man can sometimes do he can always do; and because the desire of glory enables those who are actuated by it to accomplish something noble, that others will be able to do as much. Theirs are the convulsive efforts of a man in a fever, which one in health cannot imitate."

"I cannot pardon Descartes. It was his ambition, in his system of philosophy, to be able to do without God altogether; but he was obliged to suppose the Deity gave the world a fillip in order to set it in motion; after which there was nothing more for him to do."

"We are not to suppose that Plato and Aristotle always wore their long robes, and appeared as dignified and serious personages. They were good-natured persons, who enjoyed a laugh with their friends, like the rest of the world; and when they wrote upon legislation and politics, it was only by way of enjoying them-

selves and seeking diversion. This was the least philosophical and the least serious portion of their lives; the most philosophical part of it was when they lived most simply and tranquilly."

"The virtue of a man ought not to be measured by his great efforts, but by his ordinary conduct."

"If we dreamed every night the same thing, it would affect us as much perhaps as the objects which we see every day. If an artisan was sure of dreaming every night, for twelve hours, that he was a king, I believe he would be nearly as happy as a king who should dream every night, for twelve hours, that he was an artisan. If we dreamed every night that we were pursued by enemies and harassed by terrible phantoms, while we passed every day in various occupations, we should suffer nearly as much as if the dream were true, and should dread going to sleep, as we now dread to wake, from the fear of really falling into such misfortunes. In truth, these dreams would cause nearly as much suffering as the reality. But because dreams are very various and unlike each other, what we see in them affects us much less than what we see in our waking hours, on account of the continuity of events when we are awake; this continuity, however, is not so fixed and constant as to be wholly free from change, though the scenes shift less suddenly and less frequently. Life is only a rather more constant dream."

ART. II. — *History of the Law of Nations in Europe and America, from the earliest Times to the Treaty of Washington*, 1842. By HENRY WHEATON, LL. D., Minister of the United States at Berlin, Corresponding Member of the Academy of Moral and Political Science in the Institute of France. New York: Gould, Banks, & Co. 1845. 8vo. pp. 797.

IN taking notice of a work on international law written by the accomplished minister of the United States to the court of Berlin, we need not bespeak for it any attention, which the long established reputation of the author would not of itself command. Mr. Wheaton's name is no stranger to the pages of this Journal; it has for years been most honorably connected with not only the literary, but the legal and diplomatic, annals of our country. No writer ever enjoyed greater

opportunities for testing the principles deduced from the works of philosophers and historians by their application to the business of cabinets ; while as a jurist, associated in its brightest days with the most august tribunal in America, whose province is not only to expound constitutional and municipal law, but to interpret treaty obligations and the law of nations, our author became conversant, at an early period, with the operations of the international code upon the rights and duties of individuals.

The work now before us owes its origin to the proposal of a subject for a prize essay by the Institute of France, and its object is to trace the progress which the law of nations has made since the treaty of Westphalia. But much of the interest which it has for the American reader is derived from the additions made to it since its translation into the English language. These preserve in a durable form the diplomatic papers written by Mr. Webster during the negotiation of the treaty of Washington, and which of themselves would be enough to establish for their author an enduring fame as a statesman and a jurist.

International law, in the sense in which we understand it, consisting, when not based upon express conventional arrangements, of recognized principles, forming a sort of common law among the independent states of Christendom, can hardly be said to have had an existence among the nations of antiquity. The Greeks and Romans respectively regarded all other people as barbarous. The Greeks had among themselves, owing to their common origin and the similarity of their systems of religion, some regulations tending to mitigate the ferocity of war between their different states ; but these were rather religious than political institutions, providing for resort to the temples and oracles of the gods in war as well as in peace, and for the burial of the dead, and other matters of a similar character. Even the Amphictyonic Council, which we are in the habit of regarding as a federal tribunal, and as the political arbiter of Greece, in reality enjoyed few prerogatives, and these were chiefly of a religious nature. The only institution at all resembling the permanent legations of modern times, having for its object to preserve good-will and remove causes of offence among nations, was that of the *proxeni.* These agents, however, were not usually citizens of the country whose business they

transacted, but of the state in which they resided ; and their functions were of the character which, according to the usage of modern times, would be deemed consular, not diplomatic.

The rich stores of Grecian literature furnish not one treatise on the law which should regulate the intercourse of nations with each other. Indeed, under the views then prevalent, it is difficult to find any basis for such an essay ; and though Grotius refers to one as among the lost books of Aristotle, Barbeyrac shows, that this eminent writer had been led into an error by one of the commentators of Aristotle, who had mistaken the title, which was *Δικαιώματα πόλεων*, and not *Δικαιώματα πόλεμων*, or a treatise on governernment, and not on war.

The Roman policy aimed at universal aggrandizement, and regarded all nations as enemies until they were incorporated into the commonwealth. With them, a system of public law, like that which now exists among the civilized nations of the world, could have no place. In the whole body of the Roman civil law, as it has come down to us, there is no allusion to international relations ; and the very term *legatus* is applied, not to an ambassador, but to the deputy-governor of a province. It is true, that the fecial law gave regularity to war, and we have memorable examples of the good faith of Roman generals towards the public enemy under the most trying circumstances ; but there was nothing to prevent the confiscation of the property of the vanquished, both public and private, and the condemnation of the captives and their posterity to endless servitude. We may here observe, that in no one particular has the advance in civilization been more marked, even since the days of Grotius, than with reference to the treatment of prisoners of war. At the period in question, though not tolerated in practice among Christian nations, the right to reduce prisoners to slavery was not denied to be a principle of public law. The course which then prevailed was that of ransoming the captives, which had succeeded to the custom of enslaving them ; and this was effected not at the expense of the government, but of the prisoner, while the sum paid was the private emolument of the individual captor. The first example to be found of an exchange of prisoners, according to the usage of the present day, dates back only to 1665, when an agent for that purpose was sent

from Holland to England, *flagrante bello;* but the old practice of ransoming the captured is referred to in a cartel between England and France so late as 1780, and in this paper the money price for men of all ranks, both in the land and naval service, is given.

The treaty of Westphalia is made the epoch from which to trace the improvements in public law. Before that period, the Reformation had liberated the minds of men from ecclesiastical thraldom. The rights of civil and religious liberty had been vindicated, as well in Germany as in the republics of the United Provinces and of Switzerland, to whose political independence a formal sanction was at that time accorded. The constitution of the empire itself was also adjusted on a basis which was preserved in all its essential features, till it was overturned by the progress of the French Revolution, — a torrent which annihilated in its course all ancient landmarks. Much, however, had previously been done to build up that system of public law, which was already recognized by the civilized nations of Europe. The civil law, never entirely superseded as to the Roman population of the former provinces of the empire, had established for itself an acknowledged sway throughout the continent, and might well have been considered as its international code, so far as it was applicable to the intercourse of states with each other. In addition to those simple principles of justice, which could not well be disputed, the usages of nations had also formed a consuetudinary law. Mr. Wheaton enumerates among the publicists who wrote before Grotius, Victoria and Soto, those doctors of Salamanca, who had the boldness in the sixteenth century to support the rights of the unfortunate American aborigines against the avarice of the Spaniards; Balthazar Ayala, a native of the Netherlands, also a subject of the King of Spain; Conrad Brunus, a German civilian, who, as our author remarks, is nowhere mentioned by Grotius; and Alberico Gentili, an Italian by birth, who is known to us not only as an advocate in the English admiralty courts, but as professor of civil law at Oxford, and whose work, "De Jure Belli," we may infer, was, at least in respect to the arrangement of the subject, nearly of the same utility to Grotius as the subsequent labors of Wolf were to Vattel. The *consolato del mare*, which is the basis of the maritime jurisprudence of Europe, may be traced as far back as the fourteenth century.

On the state of the public law, as it existed at the time of the conclusion of the treaty of Westphalia, the work of Grotius, though written during the Thirty Years' war, may be considered as a trustworthy authority. It was published in 1625, twenty-three years before the peace ; and though his citations are generally drawn from the poets, philosophers, and historians of antiquity, excluding all allusions to contemporaneous discussions, it was by his writings and those of his disciples, that the statesmen who took part in the adjustment of the affairs of Europe at that memorable epoch were formed.

"During this period," says Mr. Wheaton, "the influence of the writings of the publicists was perceptibly felt in the councils and conduct of nations. The diplomacy of the seventeenth century was learned and laborious in the transaction of business. Its state papers are filled with appeals, not merely to reasons of policy, but to the principles of right, of justice, and equity ; to the authority of the oracles of public law ; to those general rules and principles by which the rights of the weak are protected against the invasions of superior force, by the union of all who are interested in the common danger. In the present age, these laborious discussions appear superfluous and pedantic. These general principles are taken for granted, and it is not thought necessary to demonstrate them by reasoning on the authority of the learned. But in the times of which we speak, they had not acquired the force of axioms, and required to be fortified by argument and an appeal to testimonies, which showed the general concurrence of enlightened men in the rules of justice, which regulate, or ought to regulate, the intercourse of nations." — pp. 79, 80.

Mr. Wheaton divides the history of international law, during the two hundred years which he passes in review, into four distinct epochs. In this arrangement it is not our intention to follow him ; but we shall briefly notice the principal topics to which his work refers. The most interesting question that is discussed relates to the right of intervention of one state in the affairs of another, which topic presents itself under several phases in the modern history of Europe. We shall, however, postpone all reference to it, till we have considered the other matters noticed by Mr. Wheaton ; and then we shall examine it in connection with those suggestions of a system of permanent intervention, which philanthropists

at different periods have proposed as a preventive for the evils of war. Other points worthy of special notice are those growing out of the conflicting rights of belligerents and neutrals in maritime wars, involving the right to search vessels, either with or without convoy, together with the question, how far the neutrality of the ship protects the cargo. The application of the term *contraband*, the law of blockade, and the right of neutrals to carry on a trade opened to them by a belligerent in war, but in which they are not allowed to participate in peace, are among the other important subjects considered in this work. Between the United States and Great Britain grave disputes have arisen respecting the right of search for men, with a view of impressing sailors from American merchant-vessels, on the plea that they were British subjects; and more recently, and in time of peace, respecting the right to search vessels in order to ascertain their national character, and prevent them from taking a part in the African slave-trade; also, upon the question, how far a merchant-vessel driven into a foreign port by stress of weather is subject to the local jurisdiction. The right of riparian owners to the use of navigable rivers to the sea has been a subject of negotiation both in Europe and America.

The question, whether the ship shall protect the goods on board of it, was among the points about which jurists differed at an early period, and a contrariety of opinion and practice respecting it has prevailed among nations down to the present day. The ordinance of Louis the Fourteenth not only followed the *consolato del mare* in determining that the goods of an enemy in the ship of a friend were liable to capture, but rejected the rule, that the goods of a friend in an enemy's ship were exempt from seizure, thus construing the regulation in every case in favor of the belligerent. We may see how far the early code of France was opposed to those maritime rights, of which she subsequently professed to be the champion, by adverting to the ordinance of Francis the First, which made a neutral vessel liable to confiscation for being laden with enemy's goods. This provision was revived in the ordinance of Louis the Fourteenth, in 1681, and continued to be the law till 1744, in the reign of Louis the Fifteenth, when the enemy's goods alone were condemned, the ship being restored. This, however, was a regulation peculiar to France and Spain, and the rule is not to be found in

the jurisprudence of any other country; though Grotius deemed it necessary to combat the idea, that goods found on board an enemy's ship were inevitably to be confiscated. He considers only the presumption to be against them, and that it is incumbent on the neutral claimant to prove his property. He says, further, that the vessel of a friend is not good prize, because enemy's goods are found in it; though he qualifies his position not a little by adding, "unless they were placed there by consent of the master."

It is worthy of remark, that the earliest relaxation in favor of neutrals is found in a treaty concluded by France with the Sublime Porte, in the beginning of the seventeenth century, by which the goods of enemies on board of French vessels were exempted from capture. The same principle was adopted in other treaties between Turkey and the maritime states of Christendom, while the double provision of *free ships free goods, enemy's ships enemy's goods*, is contained in the treaty of the Pyrenees between France and Spain. Great Britain, also, in her several treaties with Portugal, France, and Holland, concluded previously to the treaty of Utrecht, had conceded the principle, that free ships make free goods. That rule was a favorite one with Holland, also, and she succeeded in establishing it with France by the treaty of Nimeguen, in 1678, which was subsequently confirmed by that of Ryswick, in 1697. France adopted the same principle in her treaty with Denmark, in 1663, and with Sweden, in 1672. But in the treaties of that period which Sweden and Denmark had with one another, and which England had with each of them, the old principle of the *consolato del mare*, declaring that the goods of a neutral in an enemy's ship were free, and confiscating enemy's goods on board of a neutral vessel, may be found. The treaties of the peace of Utrecht were followed by commercial conventions between Great Britain and Holland, and France and England, in all of which the maxim, *free ships free goods, enemy's ships enemy's goods*, was recognized.

The modifications of the law of nations contained in the treaties of Utrecht did not extend to nations not parties to those treaties, and as they were all belligerents in the maritime war terminated by the treaty of Aix la Chapelle, the *casus fœderis* never arose; and though Holland was neutral during the war of 1756, yet, on the pretext that she had not

fulfilled the guaranties contained in her treaties, Great Britain refused to allow her any benefit from the provision in the antecedent treaties, that free ships made free goods. The maritime law, as it existed in practice, was directly opposed to the provisions of treaties, — the latter sustaining the principle last referred to, while the former adhered to the rules of the *consolato del mare.* The conflict between these principles, during the war preceding the peace of Aix la Chapelle, occasioned the dispute, memorable on more accounts than one, between England and Prussia, in relation to the Silesian loan. It grew out of the capture of Prussian ships, and their subsequent condemnation by the Court of Admiralty, on pretext of having enemy's goods on board, or articles deemed contraband, though not recognized as such in the treaties which Great Britain had made with other powers. Not only was the sufficiency of the ground of seizure denied, in consequence of which Prussia retained the debt due to British merchants, secured by mortgage on the revenues of Silesia, but the exclusiveness of the decision of the Admiralty Court was also disputed. The difficulty was settled, however, as questions between governments usually are, by mutual concession, waiving the question of right, and the case cannot therefore be cited as establishing rules in the law of nations.

The treaty between the United States and France, in 1778, concluded before the armed neutrality to which we shall presently advert, established the principle of *free ships free goods*, the benefit of which was extended, by a French ordinance of the 6th of July, 1778, to all neutral powers, to whom also was conceded the right of sailing from one port of the enemy to another, unless blockaded. With Great Britain we never have had a stipulation of this nature, and the conclusion of the treaty of 1794 with that power, recognizing the rule of law which is understood to prevail in the absence of all treaties, was made the ground of reclamation on the part of France, and led to the decree of the 2d of March, 1796, authorizing the capture of enemy's property in American vessels, and declaring that the United States had renounced the privileges enjoyed under the treaty of 1778. The principle, that free ships make free goods, was, however, again restored by the treaty of 1810 with France, and still continues the rule between the United States and most of the powers with which we have special treaties. It was

adopted in our first treaties with the United Netherlands in 1782, with Sweden in 1783, and with Prussia in 1785.

But this principle, of late years, has steadily been resisted by Great Britain, who, in her last commercial convention with her old ally, Portugal, induced that power to renounce a provision, which went back as far as 1654 ; and the commercial treaty of 1786, between Great Britain and France, in which the provision of free ships making free goods was incorporated, was defended by the minister of the day only on the ground that it was likely to be wholly inoperative, as a case could scarcely be conceived, where one of these parties would be engaged as a belligerent while the other was neutral. It may here be remarked, that in the subsequent treaties of peace between Great Britain and France, as in that of Amiens in 1801, and of Paris in 1814, a total silence has been observed as to all disputed principles of maritime law.

The extent to which articles might be declared contraband of war has also been a matter of frequent conventional arrangement. The ordinance of Louis the Fourteenth had confined the term *contraband* to munitions of war ; while Grotius considers those things that are useful in war to be at all times contraband, but that those which may be used indiscriminately in war and peace are liable to seizure only in consequence of the necessities of the capturing belligerent ; in which case, the capture is not placed on the ground of the illegal conduct of the neutral, but is referable to the wants of the belligerents ; and with this opinion Bynkershoek coincides. Contraband goods, in the old French law, were subjected, not to confiscation, but to the right of preëmption ; while it seems to have been the early usage of the English admiralty courts to condemn both ship and cargo, on account of the contraband articles. By the modern English practice, naval stores and provisions are subject to the right of preemption only. Our treaty of 1794 with Great Britain contains a definition of contraband, and declares further, that, in those cases in which provisions and other articles not generally contraband shall become so, full indemnification shall be made by the captors. This provision was induced by the complaints against the British order of June, 1793, and for which the subsequent order of April, 1795, afforded renewed occasion. The British proceedings were defended,

as well on the ground of reducing the enemy to terms by famine, as from necessity on the part of the English themselves, who were threatened with a scarcity of the articles directed to be seized.

The legality of those orders formed a subject of inquiry before the mixed commission under the treaty referred to, in which, as full justice has never been done to the labors of our commissioners, it may be permitted to one who has had occasion to study minutely their arguments, to state, that the principles of the law of nations applicable to the subject were fully exhausted in the able and conclusive opinions of those enlightened jurists, Gore and Pinckney, while the judgments of Trumbull are in no wise calculated to detract from the well earned fame which he afterwards obtained in other spheres of action. The result to our citizens, it may be added, was an ample indemnity.

Complaints about the spoliation of the property of our merchants, through the infractions of maritime law by Great Britain, under her orders in council, after the peace of Amiens, were all merged in an appeal to arms against that country. But the contemporaneous proceedings of Napoleon under the Berlin, Milan, and other decrees, in which he succeeded in making those powers of the continent participate over whom he exercised a commanding influence, while they retained a nominal sovereignty, have been atoned for in the several treaties of indemnity with France, Naples, and Denmark, the last of which was concluded, on the part of the United States, by Mr Wheaton himself.

The law of blockade was, in the time of Grotius, as it is at the present day, a matter of sharp contention between belligerents and neutrals, though that great writer founds the right of the former upon the expectation of compelling peace or a surrender of the blockaded place; and so far from confiscating the vessel and cargo for an infraction of it in all cases, he is for imposing on the neutral only an indemnity for the damage occasioned by his conduct, or security against a repetition of the offence. Bynkershoek, in his enumeration of the treaties anterior to those of Utrecht, infers that the cases subjecting to forfeiture for breach of blockade were those in which contraband articles were in question. His comments on the decree of the States General in 1630, for the blockade of the ports of Flanders, show that paper blockades

were considered no more defensible by the publicists of that day than they are now, in despite of all attempts since made to sustain them both by England and France. But in the efforts of the Dutch, in 1652, to prohibit to the world all trade with the English, and in those of the Spaniards to blockade the whole coast of Portugal, we have illustrations of the same arrogant pretensions by which the conduct of the maritime belligerents during the war of the French Revolution was characterized ; and in the treaty of 1680 between England and Holland against France, we find the untenable pretension of blockading the whole French coast. This pretension was resisted by the same Baltic powers who, near a century afterwards, united with Russia in that "armed neutrality" which gave to the reign of the Empress Catharine so much of its lustre.

The belligerent right of search, which is not to be confounded with the pretension called the right of visit, recently asserted for the purpose of ascertaining the nationality of vessels in time of peace, was recognized in the *consolato del mare*. This right, as well as the punishment of confiscation for resisting it, was maintained in the early regulations of England, France, and Spain, though the pretensions of these states were frequently resisted by Holland and the Baltic powers. In early times, it was difficult to distinguish between claims founded on the right of search, and those supposed to be derived from the jurisdiction over the close seas. The preposterous claims of Spain and Portugal, founded on the bulls of Alexander the Sixth, to the commerce, navigation, and fisheries of the Atlantic and Pacific Oceans, the attempt to refute which gave occasion to the "Mare Liberum" of Grotius, have passed into oblivion. But so late as 1803, we find England refusing to extend to the seas adjacent to the British isles the provisions respecting impressment, which she was willing to concede in the treaty made with Mr. King as to the rest of the ocean. Great Britain then adhered to those doctrines which were the basis of the "Mare Clausum" of Selden, and which Gentili had maintained, though the assertion of them in former times had occasioned so many bloody contests with France and Holland.

This dispute respecting adjacent parts of the ocean is quite distinct from the claim to so much of the sea as may be brought under special jurisdiction, — within cannon-shot of

the coast, for example, — and over the waters between headlands. Not only has jurisdiction been assumed in such cases for revenue purposes by our government, but exception has been taken to the cruising of belligerent public vessels on our coasts, though not strictly within the marine league. The right of laying tolls on vessels passing the Sound, and the two Belts connecting the Baltic with the North Sea, is founded on the ownership of the adjacent shores, which belonged exclusively to Denmark, till the cession of Scania to Sweden in 1658.

A collateral question connected with the right of search is the right of a state to protect merchantmen against its exercise by the presence of a vessel-of-war. This claim was asserted as early as 1653, by Christina of Sweden, though the termination of the war then prevailing between the Dutch and English prevented its being applied in practice. A provision to the same effect was incorporated into the Danish code of 1688, but it seems never to have been called into operation. During the wars growing out of the French Revolution, the question was tested by England both with Sweden and Denmark, who, with the United States, during the greater part of those contests, were the only neutral maritime powers. The Swedish case arose in 1798, when a fleet of merchantmen, carrying cargoes of naval stores, the produce of Sweden and the property of Swedish subjects, to the Mediterranean ports in possession of France, under convoy of a ship-of-war, was captured by a British squadron, and proceeded against in the Court of Admiralty for an alleged breach of the right of visitation and search. The decision of Sir William Scott (Lord Stowell), on that occasion, is among the most celebrated efforts of that distinguished judge. After denying the right of a foreign neutral sovereign to interpose between his subjects and a belligerent cruiser, he pronounced sentence of confiscation, resting his decision, it may be said, on a citation from Vattel,* which, however conclusive on the general right of search, does not in the least touch the question of convoy, the only point at issue.

In December, 1799, a skirmish took place between a Danish frigate, convoying a fleet of merchantmen, and some British ships-of-war. The Danes fired on the British boats,

* Vattel, Liv. III. Chap. 7, § 114.

and the convoy was allowed to pass ; but the English ministers complained of the proceeding to the court of Denmark, as if they were the aggrieved party, and Count Bernstoff, in his reply, resisted the claim to visit vessels under convoy. But in 1800, an engagement took place between the Danish frigate Freya, in attempting to defend her convoy from search, and some British cruisers, in which lives were lost and the Danish frigate was captured. Reclamations were made on both sides, and a special minister was sent to Copenhagen, accompanied, *in order to give greater weight to his representations*, by a fleet. A convention was ultimately made, restoring the frigate and merchantmen, Denmark agreeing to withhold convoy, till the question should be settled by a definitive treaty.

Among the maritime rules of general concern, which arose during the period under review, is one which was first attempted to be established in the war of 1756, from which it derives its name. The object was to confine neutrals during war to their accustomed trade in peace ; and the attempt to punish by confiscation those who carried on with the enemy a trade not open in peace was first made by Great Britain against the Dutch. To a similar proceeding in regard to Denmark are we indebted for the work of Hubner, the ablest advocate of neutral rights, who was employed on a special mission on this occasion to the courts of France and England. The rule was not put in operation during the American war, but was a subject of constant discussion in the wars growing out of the French Revolution, and was applied by Great Britain to the total interdiction of the trade between neutrals and the colonial possessions of the enemy. The United States felt most sensibly the effects of this policy, and the capture and confiscation of their vessels under it formed one of the causes of the war declared against Great Britain in 1812. The change of policy on the part of nations having colonies, in allowing foreigners to trade with them during peace, would of course render the rule no longer operative in the event of a future contest ; though to the analogous case of the coasting-trade, the principles, if persisted in, would continue to apply.

The most interesting incident in the history of modern maritime law is the "armed neutrality" of the Empress Catharine ; its origin shows how important political events

are often the result of apparent accident. It seems to have grown out of a rivalship in intrigue between the two courtiers Panin and Potemkin, operating upon the vanity and ignorance of the extraordinary woman who then occupied the Russian throne. It is even said, that Catharine entirely misapprehended the purport of the measure, and supposed that it would be particularly agreeable to England. The declaration, however, which has become so famous, was drawn up on the 26th of February, 1780, and communicated to the courts of London, Versailles, and Madrid. It maintained, that neutral vessels might freely navigate from port to port on the coasts of nations at war, that enemy's goods not contraband should be free in neutral vessels, and only that port should be considered blockaded into which there was an evident danger of entering.

England answered with reserve, merely declaring that she had scrupulously fulfilled with Russia the obligations of her treaty and of the law of nations. From the enemies of Great Britain, and from all who were jealous of her power, the Russian declaration received a ready response. Spain declared her conformity, and France answered that the principles were no other than the rules prescribed to her own navy. Denmark and Sweden concurred, and concluded with Russia a convention of armed neutrality and for the equipment of a joint fleet. By this convention, the Baltic was declared *mare clausum* to the belligerent powers. The United Provinces, alternately menaced by England and France, the one requiring the stipulated succours, the other endeavouring to confirm the neutrality, acceded to the convention of armed neutrality, which led to the declaration of war against them by Great Britain on the 20th of December, 1780. The United States acceded on the 7th of April, 1781, Portugal on the 12th of July, 1782, and the King of the Two Sicilies on the 10th of February, 1783. Great Britain continued to act towards the neutral powers according to her previous practice, but exercised her rights with great caution, and did not put in force the rule of 1756.

A proposition to revive the armed neutrality, in some degree caused by the occurrence in relation to the Danish frigate Freya, was made by the Emperor Paul in 1800; and three several conventions were in consequence signed by Russia with Sweden, Denmark, and Prussia, forming a

quadruple alliance, each of the powers acceding to the conventions with the others. The articles of these treaties were similar to the principles of the first armed neutrality; and there was added a further provision to meet the case of convoy, by which it was declared, the rule of free ships making free goods having been stipulated, that the declaration of the officer of the convoy as to contraband goods, the only articles justifying search, should be deemed sufficient.

The battle of Copenhagen and the death of the Emperor Paul soon dissolved the confederacy. It led, however, to the commercial convention of 1801 between Great Britain and Russia, which is considered as forming of itself an important epoch in the history of maritime law. By this convention, the Northern powers gave up the point of *free ships free goods*, the right of search, however, being confined to public ships-of-war. Great Britain yielded in all matters relating to the colonial and coasting trade, to blockades and modes of search, and to the limitation of contraband to military stores. The question of convoys was compromised in such a way, that, while England retained the semblance of the principle, the search was not likely to occur in practice. It may be added, that, on the rupture in 1807 between Russia and England, the Russian government published a declaration proclaiming "anew the principles of the armed neutrality, that monument of the wisdom of the Empress Catharine," and engaging never to depart from this system; while England proclaimed "anew the principles of maritime law, against which was directed the armed neutrality under the auspices of the Empress Catharine." The subsequent treaties between Great Britain and Russia, and those between Great Britain and France, are totally silent upon the disputed points.

In a retrospect, however rapid, we cannot omit reference to the peculiar provisions of the treaty of 1785, between the United States and Prussia, which were intended to introduce important ameliorations into the usages of modern warfare, particularly by exempting noncombatants on sea and land, and merchant-vessels, from the inconveniences incident to war, and stipulating against the issuing of commissions to private armed vessels. The rule against privateering was a favorite scheme of Dr. Franklin, who was one of the American plenipotentiaries, though he clearly saw that by

the adoption of it we should lose more than any other power. A subsequent proposition, to abolish private war on the sea, was made to Great Britain by our government under the administration of Mr. Monroe, in 1823; but though eloquently sustained in the instructions of Mr. Adams to Mr. Rush, was not even taken into consideration by the other party.

During the long wars consequent on the French Revolution, the United States, owing to the similarity of language and origin, were the principal sufferers from the assertion of the British claim to the perpetual service of all who were born subjects of England, and from the taking away of seamen, supposed to be of British origin, from neutral vessels. Not only was the practice calculated to render ineffectual the rights of citizenship conferred on foreigners by the laws of the United States, but in innumerable cases, either through accident or design, native-born citizens were impressed and put on board English men-of-war. No injury appealed so strongly to the feelings of the American people as this, and to seek redress for it was one of the prominent objects of the last war. The war terminated, however, without any arrangement on this subject, and the matter has since, on several occasions, been brought up for discussion. In the negotiations of 1823, the American minister was authorized, if Great Britain would agree to abolish impressment, to stipulate to exclude all natural-born subjects of the belligerent party, not naturalized before the commencement of the war, from the public or private naval service of the neutral, and even to extend the exclusion to all those naturalized after the exchange of the ratifications of the treaty; but Great Britain was then unwilling to treat on the matter. Impressment was also one of the numerous subjects confided to Mr. Gallatin, during his mission to London in 1826. In consequence, however, of what had previously occurred, that eminent diplomatist, though authorized to receive and discuss, was not permitted to make, any new proposals; and he found, that, "though Mr. Canning (who was then premier) was, as Lord Castlereagh had been, ahead of public opinion or national pride, he did not feel himself quite strong enough to encounter those sentiments, and to give new arms to his adversaries; and notwithstanding his conviction that an agreement such as we might accept was extremely desirable, he was not prepared at that time to make the proposal."

The change in the relative power of the two parties since the occurrences referred to, as well as the alterations in the mode of manning the royal navy, will probably prevent any recurrence of the practice ; but we cannot omit commending to the notice of the American reader the able argument of Mr. Webster upon this topic, addressed during the late negotiation to Lord Ashburton. Irrespective of the question of right, the Secretary clearly shows, on grounds somewhat novel, that the practice is opposed to the interests of England. To continue the claim is to put obstacles in the way of the emigration, which has proved so beneficial both to Great Britain and the United States.

"England acknowledges herself overburdened with population of the poorer classes. Every instance of the emigration of persons of these classes is regarded by her as a benefit. England therefore encourages emigration ; means are voluntarily supplied to emigrants to assist their conveyance, from public funds ; and the New World, and most especially these United States, receive the many thousands of her subjects thus ejected from the bosom of their native land by the necessities of their condition. They come away from poverty and distress in over-crowded cities, to seek employment, comfort, and new homes, in a country of free institutions, possessed by a kindred race, speaking their own language, and having laws and usages in many respects like those to which they have been accustomed ; and a country which, upon the whole, is found to possess more attractions for persons of their character and condition than any other on the face of the globe.

. . . . .

" In time, they mingle with the new community in which they find themselves, and seek means of living ; some find employment in the cities, others go to the frontiers, to cultivate lands reclaimed from the forests ; and a greater or less number of the residue, becoming in time naturalized citizens, enter into the merchant service, under the flag of their adopted country. If war should break out between England and a European power, can any thing be more unjust, any thing more irreconcilable to the general sentiments of mankind, than that England should seek out these persons, thus encouraged by her, and compelled by their own condition, to leave their own native homes, tear them away from their new employments, their new political relations, and their domestic connections, and force them to undergo the dangers and hardships of a military service for a country which

has thus ceased to be their own country? Is it not far more reasonable, that England should either prevent such emigration of her subjects, or that, if she encourage and promote it, she should leave them, not to the embroilment of a double and a contradictory allegiance, but to their own voluntary choice to form such relations, political or social, as they see fit in the country where they are to find their bread, and to the laws and institutions of which they are to look for defence and protection?" — pp. 740–742.

The exemption of American vessels, driven by stress of weather into ports in the Bahama Isles, from the operation of the English laws, so far as regards property in the slaves which may be on board of them, is maintained by Mr. Webster on the ground, that a vessel at sea is to be regarded as part of the territory to which she belongs, and that her being forced into a port, contrary to the intention of the owner or master, cannot affect her rights. Furthermore, "By the comity of the law of nations, and the practice of modern times, merchant-vessels entering open ports of other nations, for the purpose of trade, are presumed to bring with them, and to retain for their protection and government, the jurisdiction and laws of their own country."

"If," he adds, "vessels of the United States, pursuing lawful voyages from port to port, along their own shore, are driven by stress of weather, or carried by unlawful force, into English ports, the government of the United States cannot consent that the local authorities in these ports shall take advantage of such misfortunes, and enter them for the purpose of interfering with the condition of persons or things on board, as established by their own laws. If slaves, the property of citizens of the United States, escape to British territories, it is not expected that they will be restored. In that case, the territorial jurisdiction of England will have become exclusive over them, and must decide their condition. But slaves on board of American vessels, lying in British waters, are not within the exclusive jurisdiction of England, or under the exclusive operation of English law; and this founds the broad distinction between the cases." — p. 729.

The attempt of England, sanctioned as it is by treaties with most of the maritime powers of Europe, to visit vessels on the coast of Africa, with a view to ascertain whether they are slavers and belong to a country which has conceded the reciprocal right of search, was a matter of exciting discussion between the governments of the United States and

Great Britain, to settle which was one of the primary objects of Lord Ashburton's mission. The treaty of Washington, however, leaves untouched the principle in dispute, and merely provides for the maintenance of independent squadrons for the suppression of the slave-trade ; and though the United States and Great Britain have affixed to this traffic the denomination of piracy, yet the highest tribunals of both countries, notwithstanding some indications which were at first given of a contrary nature, have concurred in considering it merely an offence against the municipal law, to be tried in the courts of the nation to which the vessel belongs, or by the mixed commissions established by special treaties, and not as a violation of the law of nations, which would authorize all civilized powers to regard the parties engaged in it as outlaws. Indeed, the proposition made by Lord Castlereagh to the Congress of Aix la Chapelle, in 1818, to denounce the slave-trade as piracy, was unqualifiedly rejected by the allied powers.

The right of riparian inhabitants to the use of navigable rivers to their outlet is a subject, the discussion of which has been of late years very interesting to the people both of Europe and America. It was agitated in 1784, by Joseph the Second, in relation to the Scheldt, the great outlet of the Catholic Belgic provinces, which had been closed by the treaty of Westphalia ; but the difficulties between the emperor and the Dutch were settled without the cession by the latter of the desired privilege. After the American Revolution, the question came up between the United States and Spain, in relation to the Mississippi, and attracted the attention of the Congress of the Confederation, besides furnishing occasion for the earliest diplomatic negotiations with Spain under our new government. By the treaty of 1763, the Mississippi had been made the boundary between the English and French possessions in America, and the right of navigation established in favor of the subjects of Great Britain, from its source to the sea. Louisiana was subsequently ceded by France to Spain ; and in the treaty of 1783, between the United States and Great Britain, the right of navigation, so far as these two powers were concerned, was secured to both. Spain, however, resisted the claim, on the ground of having gained possession of both banks of the river at its mouth ; while

the right was claimed by the United States, as well by the law of nature and nations, as by the treaties of 1763 and 1783. The dispute was terminated by the treaty of San Lorenzo el Real, in 1795, by which it was agreed, that the navigation of the Mississippi should be free in its whole breadth, from its source to the ocean, to citizens of the United States. By the cession of Louisiana to France, and its subsequent acquisition by the United States, and by the omission in the treaty of Ghent to renew the stipulation in favor of Great Britain as to the Mississippi, no part of which, it has been ascertained, lies in British territory, the right to its navigation has become exclusive in the United States.

By the treaty of Paris, in 1814, it had been stipulated, that the navigation of the Rhine and the Scheldt should be free ; and the discussions for effecting that object form an interesting chapter in the proceedings of the Congress of Vienna. By the *final act* of that body, as well as by the treaties between the riparian states of Germany, and by the conventions for the separation of Belgium and Holland, these objects were fully accomplished. Similar arrangements have been made as to other rivers of Europe, so that, in practice, subject perhaps to certain regulations as to tolls for the preservation of the works and the regulation of the police, the right of all the inhabitants bordering on a river to the use of it to the sea may be considered as part of the public law of Europe.

An attempt has more than once been made by the United States to apply these principles to the navigation of the St. Lawrence. Our claim is supported, also, not only by the consideration, that the St. Lawrence was a joint acquisition at the time when the American Colonies and Great Britain constituted but one people, but by the fact, that the river is to be regarded as the outlet of the mediterranean seas of our continent, the navigation of which belongs exclusively to us and England. Great Britain, on her side, declares the right of passage to be an imperfect right, exclusively under the control of the local sovereign ; and no arrangement has ever been effected with her on this matter. Indeed, she has insisted, that there is no distinction between a passage by land and one by water, and that she might make as good a claim to pass over our territory to the ocean, either by land, or by the

artificial navigation which the State of New York has created, and the Hudson. Incontestable as is our right, we may be permitted to remark, that the withholding of it probably operates more injuriously to Great Britain than to us. The effect of its being conceded might be to divert no small portion of the trade upon the Lakes from our own seaboard to Montreal and Quebec.

The right of intervention of one nation in the affairs of another presents a most delicate question of international law. It is not only difficult to lay down any fixed principles by which it may be regulated, but the very admission of the right, in any form, opens the door to indefinite abuse. We know not that we can better illustrate this position, than by a cursory notice of the cases referred to by Mr. Wheaton, in which the attempt has been made to apply the rule.

For an intervention to preserve the balance of power, the dispute respecting the Spanish succession in the beginning of the eighteenth century afforded a plausible pretext. The powers of Europe interfered, in opposition to the feelings and wishes of the Spanish nation, to prevent its union with France or Austria, which would reconstruct the empire of Charles the Fifth, and thereby be prejudicial to the independence of other states. The acceptance of the testament made in favor of the Duc d'Anjou, grandson of Louis the Fourteenth, was the cause of a bloody war, which was terminated only by the peace of Utrecht. That treaty sanctioned the right of intervention, by establishing as a fundamental rule of European law, and without reference to the will of the nation, the separation of Spain and France, while it gave to the House of Austria possessions no less valuable than Belgium, Milan, and Naples.

The next occasion for the application of the principle of intervention grew out of the Austrian succession, on the death of Charles the Sixth, the last male descendant of the House of Hapsburg. The object of the coalition to which this event gave rise was not to preserve, but to overturn, the existing balance of power in Europe, by partitioning the greater part of the Austrian dominions between Bavaria, Saxony, Prussia, and Spain. Even Frederick the Second rested his claim to Silesia, as his own Memoirs show, on grounds such as those by which military conquerors justify aggression. The questions, however, which the death of

Charles the Sixth occasioned, were ultimately settled, at the peace of Aix la Chapelle, by the recognition of the pragmatic sanction in favor of his daughter, and without any other diminution of her dominions than the cession of Silesia to Prussia, and of one or two unimportant Italian principalities to an Infante of Spain.

The Seven Years' war, as that of 1756 is often termed, is principally memorable to us on this side of the Atlantic, as having put an end to the dominion of France in America, and left her great rival undisputed mistress of all those portions of the North American continent which were not the property of Spain. It was, also, not without its influence on the relative position of European states. The attempt of France and Spain to form that combination, which it was the object of the treaty of Utrecht to prevent, had been without effect, Great Britain triumphing over their combined naval forces. Prussia, however, at this epoch, had become a first-rate power; and Russia, having previously acquired a large territory on the Baltic, began to assume her position in the affairs of Europe; while Sweden, by her cessions, became more than proportionably impoverished, and Spain and Holland lost the position which they had once occupied.

The defects in the internal constitution of Poland afforded no apology for an act of wanton spoliation, in which the ablest sovereigns of their times, Frederick and Catharine, took part, and Austria, the other party, was not unwilling to join. The portions assigned to each were finally settled by a convention signed at St. Petersburg on the 5th of August, 1772; and this most wanton aggression was justified, by the declarations of the respective powers, from the necessity of intervention, in order that their own mutual harmony and friendship might not be destroyed by the disorders of the republic, and that more natural and sure boundaries might be established for Poland. This partition was finally confirmed in 1775 by the diet; but from this time Russia regarded Poland as a conquered province. In 1788, however, an estrangement between Prussia and Russia led to a treaty between what remained of Poland and the former power, and a new constitution, abolishing the *liberum veto*, and rendering the crown hereditary in the electoral house of Saxony, was adopted. But the hopes of this unfortunate people were but short-lived, and their ally again became their despoiler. A

second partition was made between Russia and Prussia in 1793 ; and in 1795 the work was completed by the third partition between Austria, Russia, and Prussia. What rendered this proceeding the more monstrous was the fact, that it was consummated at the very time when the partitioning powers were preaching a crusade against France, on account of her revolutionary doctrines, the influence of which, they asserted, was used for external aggrandizement. The proceeding of Austria in relation to the Bavarian succession, in 1778, was so palpably a case of spoliation of a weak by a stronger power, as not to require any comments.

Another case of intervention was that of Prussia in the internal affairs of Holland, in 1787, for the purpose of restoring the stadtholder, who had been suspended from his functions by the States General ; the immediate apology for interference being an alleged indignity offered to his wife, who was a princess of Prussia. The stadtholder was restored by foreign force, and sustained by treaties concluded with Great Britain and Prussia guarantying his power, while the leaders of the patriotic party were banished. This action was one of the most unjustifiable cases of interference on record, being a foreign guaranty to a nation of its own constitution against any changes made by itself, for which a parallel is to be found only in the stipulation after the first disastrous partition of Poland, by which a right of interposition was accorded to Russia. The alliance thus formed proceeded to interfere in the affairs of other nations, and interposed, in 1790, between Joseph the Second and his revolted Belgic provinces. This same triple alliance continued to exercise an influence in the affairs of Europe till the French Revolution ; and its mediation was employed in the wars between Russia and Sweden, and between Austria and the Porte, and Russia and the Porte.

The part which the French government took between Great Britain and her colonies, in the war of the American Revolution, has been cited as another case of intervention in the internal affairs of states. The treaties, however, which France made with the United States were based on the assumed fact of their actual independence ; and when her right to treat with them was denied, she offered the example of Queen Elizabeth, in the case of the United Netherlands. In that affair, though England not only made a treaty with

the revolted provinces, but published a manifesto declaring her determination to sustain them, her course occasioned no rupture with Spain. "It was sufficient for his Majesty's justification, that the colonies, forming by their number and the extent of their territory a considerable nation, had established their independence, not merely by a solemn declaration, but also in fact, and had maintained it against all the efforts of the mother country."

The application of the principle of intervention again occurs in the war of the French Revolution. This was an interference of a peculiar nature, intended to prevent the spread of revolutionary principles, and to preserve the balance of power by hindering the undue extension of the French dominions. The first attempt to meddle with her internal affairs was made by the Emperor Leopold, in behalf of the German princes who had feudal tenures and tithes in Alsace; the emperor, at least, had a pretext for his conduct, because he had guarantied the treaty of Westphalia, by which Alsace was ceded to France. The Austrian *ultimatum* of the 7th of April, 1792, requiring the reëstablishment of the monarchy on the basis of the 23d of June, 1789, was a direct interference in the domestic concerns of France, which could not but justify the declaration of war that ensued. The Prussian manifesto distinctly sets forth, among the causes of war, the propagation of principles subversive of social order, which had thrown France into confusion. "To prevent the incalculable evils which might result to France, to Europe, and to humanity in general; to suppress anarchy in France; to reëstablish for this purpose a lawful power on the essential basis of a monarchical form; and by these means to secure other governments against the criminal and incendiary efforts of a band of madmen, — such was the great object of the king and his ally." The institutions of Great Britain would not permit her to assume the same grounds of intervention as the continental powers had done. Her complaints were founded on the meditated attack on Holland, the opening of the Scheldt, the invasion of the Netherlands, and the encouragement of revolts in other countries. She was anticipated in her declaration of hostilities; but Mr. Pitt said, that the English would not have gone to war to change the internal government of France, but being at war, they had a right to contend for what would give them

security ; and Lord Mornington, afterwards the Marquis of Wellesley, stated, in 1794, that, " while the present or any other Jacobin government exists in France, no proposition for peace can be made or received by us."

The Congress of Vienna assumed avowedly the office of reconstructing the system of Europe, and the four great powers, Austria, Great Britain, Russia, and Prussia, asserted the right of disposing of all the territories of the French empire, which were not contained in the limits assigned to France, under her restored monarch ; though they subsequently admitted, as members of the directing committee, the plenipotentiaries of France, Spain, Sweden, and Portugal, who were the other parties to the treaty of Paris.

The intervention of Austria, Russia, and Prussia, the three powers that properly constituted the " Holy Alliance," in the Neapolitan revolution of 1820 ; of Austria, in that of Piedmont, in 1821 ; and of France, in the Spanish revolution of 1822, were cases of direct interference in the internal affairs of other states, based upon the propriety of making a general crusade against all revolutionary movements, and all constitutional changes which did not proceed from the sovereign himself. But in none of these proceedings did Great Britain concur. Indeed, on the last occasion, England, as well as the United States, protested against the right of the allied powers to interfere between Spain and her American colonies ; and the United States declared, that they would consider any attempt on the part of the allied powers to extend their peculiar political system to the American continent as dangerous to our peace and safety.

The intervention of Great Britain, in 1826, in the affairs of Portugal, was based upon the obligations of ancient treaties. It was not intended by her to enforce the establishment of the Portuguese constitution against the will of the people ; but to prevent any thing being done by others to hinder this constitution from being carried into effect. The convention of 1834, the quadruple treaty between France, Great Britain, Spain, and Portugal, was alleged to be founded not only on the preceding considerations, but on the disadvantages which the movements of Don Carlos of Spain, in conjunction with Don Miguel of Portugal, occasioned to both the governments of the Peninsula, and to compel these princes to withdraw from the Portuguese dominions.

Jurisdiction over the controversy between Belgium and Holland was assumed in consequence of the application of the king of the Netherlands to the British government, requesting that plenipotentiaries of the five powers might assemble in congress to effect a conciliation between the two portions of his kingdom. The armistice, which was at once proposed by the conference, was accepted by the king of the Netherlands and by the provisional government of Belgium. There was, however, great dissatisfaction on both sides, as to the subsequent proceedings of the congress, — the king of the Netherlands denying their right to dismember his kingdom, while the Belgians insisted that they were not bound by treaties contracted by the Netherlands, to which they were not a party. A treaty was made, in 1831, between Belgium and the five powers, and France and Great Britain united to compel the king of the Netherlands to evacuate the territory ; and by a treaty between Belgium and Holland, in 1837, the arrangements of the five powers were finally carried into effect. Mr. Wheaton closes with the following remarks his notice of the discussions at this conference of London : " Thus was terminated this long and tedious negotiation, which, in the course of its progress, alternately assumed the character of a mediation, of a forcible arbitration, or of an armed interference, according to the varying events of the struggle, and the fluctuating views of the powers who were interested in terminating it."

Nor has the principle of intervention been confined to the relations between the different powers of Christendom. In 1828, it was applied by France, Great Britain, and Russia to the Greek revolution, and was carried out by the battle of Navarino, and the occupation of the Morea by the French troops, when the independence of Greece was recognized by the Ottoman Porte, under the mediation of the three contracting powers. In 1833, the interposition of the Christian states of Europe in the affairs of Turkey assumed a new form, so that they became the guardians of the integrity of the Ottoman empire against one of its principal vassals. The Porte demanded the protection of Austria, Great Britain, and France against Mehemet Ali, and the forces of Russia were placed at the disposition of the sultan. A settlement was subsequently made with the pacha, under the mediation of England and France. This arrangement was followed by

the treaty of Unkiar Skellessi, which seemed to give to the relations of Russia with the Porte a new character, by introducing the armed intervention of the former into the internal affairs of Turkey. The *casus fœderis* having arisen from the attempts of the sultan to recover his lost provinces, and of the pacha to assert his independence, the Western powers of Europe determined to interfere to save the Ottoman empire from the aggressions of Mehemet Ali, on the one side, and from the exclusive protectorate of Russia, on the other. An arrangement was finally made, in 1840, between the Porte and all the great European powers, except France, for the pacification of the East.

Schemes have been at different times devised by philanthropists for the purpose of putting an end to all war, and in the work before us the plans of St. Pierre and Rousseau, of Bentham and Kant, for effecting this object, are given in detail. In some shape or other, they are all referable to the principle of arbitration, or of a general council of nations, which may serve as a great tribunal, whose jurisdiction all states are to acknowledge. This project cannot be deemed a wholly untried experiment. The limited history of the United States presents some cases of foreign arbitrament; and assuredly the most important reference, that of the question respecting the Northeastern boundary to the king of the Netherlands, is not calculated to give us a favorable idea of the mode in which such friendly offices are performed. The Holy Alliance, when it parcelled out kingdoms at Vienna, sacrificing Poland to Russia, the greater part of Saxony to Prussia, and the ancient republics of Genoa and Venice to Sardinia and Austria; and when it met at Troppau and Laybach, to sustain the rights of sovereigns against their subjects, was exercising, under the most solemn sanctions of religion, that general superintendence over the affairs of Europe, which the philanthropists propose to vest in a general council. If it be objected, that the declared views of these sovereigns, and the circumstances out of which the alliance grew, afford a peculiar explanation for their hostility to popular institutions, — what is to prevent, in any confederation of independent states, that result which we see in the Germanic confederation, where the great powers of Austria and Prussia not only possess a preponderance that virtually divests the other members of all participation

in the general business of the diet, but which has enabled them to interfere in the internal concerns of the several states for the maintenance of monarchical pretensions against popular rights, and to create and sustain, even by military force, a censorship of the press more severe than any individual sovereign has ever established within his own dominions ?

Nor are the annals of the present Germanic confederacy calculated to recommend to us another mode of settlement of national disputes, which has more than once been suggested to our government, — a reference to foreign jurists. This course was proposed by Mr. Jay, while secretary of state under the old Confederation, for the settlement of our Eastern line and the determination of the St. Croix ; and was likewise adverted to in the negotiations about the North-eastern boundary, which both preceded and followed the arbitration of the king of the Netherlands. But when we recollect, that the same Mr. Gentz, who, in 1812 and 1813, made the most eloquent appeals in favor of German liberty, was the very individual who drew up the protocol of the diet of 1832, virtually annihilating those constitutional guaranties which even the Congress of Vienna had deemed it necessary to provide for the people against their local sovereigns, one may well doubt the independence and impartiality, however elevated the intelligence, of any tribunal thus constituted, especially when the influence of a sovereign or a powerful state is brought to bear upon the rights of subjects, or on the pretensions of weak neighbours.

Great as have been the calamities of war, it may well be doubted whether they ought not to be encountered, in preference to a system which would divest every small state of the perfect independence which belongs to all sovereignties. In the ameliorations of every kind which mark the present age, we see many circumstances that tend to lessen the extent and frequency of national hostilities. The discovery of gunpowder, by the very magnitude of the destruction which it causes, and by the calculations of which it is susceptible in practice, greatly lessened the frequency of war. Steam, which has produced such wonderful effects in augmenting the products of human labor, will be found not without correspondent influence in belligerent affairs. Who can tell what a revolution the action of steamers is to cause in future maritime contests ? What influence is the power

of concentrating, by means of railroads, the whole population of a country on a given point, to have on future invasions ? Considerations of self-interest and the mutual dependence of nations have also taught them not rashly to interrupt that commerce which is equally important to all parties. In the universal dissemination of the principles of free intercourse we look for that abolition of war, which we should consider to be purchased at too great a sacrifice, if it were brought about by subjecting, through another Holy Alliance or European congress, all the minor states of the world to the arrogance of England or the despotism of Russia.

Art. III. — 1. *The Jewish Chronicle.* Published under the Direction of the American Society for meliorating the Condition of the Jews. New York. 1843 – 44.

2. *A Course of Lectures on the Jews.* By Ministers of the Established Church in Glasgow. Philadelphia : Presbyterian Board of Publication. 1840. 12mo. pp. 499.

3. *Narrative of a Mission of Inquiry to the Jews, from the Church of Scotland, in* 1839. Eighth Thousand. Edinburgh. 1843. 12mo. pp. 555.

4. *Lecture on the Restoration of the Jews.* By M. M. Noah. Delivered October 28th, 1844, in the Tabernacle, New York City.

A new and rapidly increasing interest in the affairs of the Jewish people has of late years pervaded Protestant Christendom. Among the Jews themselves, too, our day reveals new elements of life, struggling to break the stupor of centuries. Some strange changes are taking place, also, in the external condition of this people. In one country, we behold revived against them a persecuting popish inquisition ; in another, an imperial edict is even now sending them, by hundreds of thousands, into exile ; in a third, — a Protestant country, too, — the long established policy of excluding them from political privileges altogether has withstood a bold onset from the liberal spirit of the age, and triumphed.

Our own land has recently witnessed the singular spectacle of Jews dictating to a Christian people, how the children of that people should be educated ; and forbidding to teach, or even name, Jesus Christ in the public schools. Meanwhile, the Protestant church, especially in Great Britain, is putting forth fresh energies, in widely extended missionary enterprises, to win Israel to the acknowledgment of her Messiah, still looked for, though long since come, — perseveringly rejected, yet the object of her fondest hopes.

For the mere historian or ethnographer, for the philanthropist, for any man of reflection and sensibility, the history and present condition of the Jews offer points of extraordinary, even of unparalleled, attraction. Their history is a history, if not of miracles, at least of well authenticated wonders. Their sacred books, if not inspired, certainly far surpass all other compositions of the ages which produced them, in the verisimilitude of what, unless divinely communicated, must be fictitious ; in the purity and sublimity of their moral and theological conceptions ; in the correspondence of parts written at such widely separated periods, in divers countries, and by various men ; in the consistency of the whole with the subsequent progress of science and discovery ; and in their wonderful fitness, both intrinsically and by external evidence, to exert a mighty influence over the faith and practice of mankind. The sufferings of the Jews — whether the "wringing out of the dregs of a cup of trembling" from Jehovah, or not — have far exceeded all other experience, and the common measure of human endurance. Of continued distinct existence like theirs, in spite of a thousand efforts of self-styled Christians and of infidels, leagued together in the plenitude of earthly power to amalgamate Jew and Gentile, or to root the former out, no other example can be found, except in miniature in their own early history, when, under Egyptian taskmasters, "the more they were afflicted, the more they grew and multiplied." For continuous ages, like the bush of Horeb, they "have burned with fire and have not been consumed." Whether the writings, to which both Jews and Christians now point as prophecies yet to be fulfilled, can be trusted as a picture of coming times, or not, certainly no one tolerably acquainted with their religious lore, and associating with them in the common intercourse of life, can fail to catch something of

their spirit of anticipation, and to watch with interest and awe the further developments of the Jews' strange history.

But religious belief — the Jewish, even, and much more the Christian — heightens immeasurably the importance and the attractiveness of this wonderful theme. To the confiding student of the Bible, the Jews assume high dignity, and challenge earnest attention, as God's chosen, covenant people ; as the descendants of holy patriarchs, to whom Jehovah spake "face to face, as a man speaketh unto his friend" ; as a nation long visibly led and governed, upheld, protected, and punished, by an almighty hand ; as a people whose ancient history, recorded by inspiration, expressly and clearly shows — what all uninspired annals leave to be faintly and uncertainly traced out by the dim light of human reason — the connection between every outward event and an unseen Providence ; as the special depositaries of divine communications intended for all times and every people ; as that race, "of whom, as concerning the flesh, Christ came," and who, although they rejected and crucified the Saviour of the world, are themselves rejected and outcast, "scattered among all people, from the one end of the earth even unto the other," "to be a reproach and a proverb, a taunt and a curse, in all places" of their sojourn ; as still beloved of God in his covenant faithfulness, and "for the fathers' sake" ; as still inheriting the prophetic benediction, "Cursed be every one that curseth thee, and blessed be he that blesseth thee" ; as yet to be "grafted again into their own olive-tree," the church of God ; and, as many believe, to be restored to that goodly land which was confirmed to them by oath before they were a nation ; which was taken from its original possessors to be given to them, when they were homeless pilgrims ; which is still theirs, twice exiled from it as they have been, — now for nearly eighteen hundred years, — and wonderfully kept from permanent occupation by any Gentile people ; — in a word, as the standing miracle of modern times, changing in themselves nature's most firmly established laws, without interfering with the harmony that everywhere else prevails in convincing contrast. Such are the Jews in the eye of Christian faith.

The first great fact which strikes the observer of this people, in their present state, is their dispersion throughout the world, while they are still a separate race, excepting

where, at the confines of their channel, they mingle enough with the surrounding waters to manifest that tendency to amalgamation, which characterizes all human kind, and in them is overborne only by some mysterious power opposing the diffusive force of the natural current. The narrative of their dispersion is necessarily involved at many points in great obscurity, which Jewish superstition and fondness for traditionary lore have served in no small degree to thicken. The agricultural life of the early Hebrews, as well as all the Mosaic institutions, opposed their mingling freely with other nations; but it is not unlikely, that, in the days of King Solomon, many of them settled in Egypt. He "made affinity with Pharaoh, king of Egypt, and took Pharaoh's daughter to wife." Long amity between the two nations succeeded this alliance; and Egypt became at length the resort of the Hebrews, for aid against their public enemies, and as an asylum from public and private dangers.

It is not necessary to give even a brief summary of the events recorded in Scripture, such as the Babylonish captivity, or of those narrated by profane historians, such as the conquests of Alexander the Great and the wars of his immediate successors, which tended to scatter many of the Jews among all the countries of the known world, even while the body of the nation still retained a distinct existence in Palestine. We can cast only a passing glance on the history of their dispersion since the commencement of the Christian era.

The government of the Idumean princes, beginning with that monster of cruelty, Herod the Great, was a fitting introduction to the drama which had its catastrophe in the utter destruction of Jerusalem and the final ruin of the nation. While the sword of persecution scattered abroad multitudes of Christian converts, who "went everywhere preaching the word," cruel tyranny and civil discord must have driven from Palestine many who were still Jews. When, at length, oppressed by Roman procurators, and denied the freedom of religious worship, the infuriated people rose in desperate revolt; when, beleaguered by a merciless foe, whose progress to her walls had been marked by scenes of carnage that added new horrors even to Roman warfare, the Holy City was convulsed by intestine factions; when rapine and butchery within the gates were the ordinary inter-

ludes of sanguinary conflict without ; when, under the name of " Saviours," desperate brigands held the city in possession ; — all who were free to go, except the deluded, the stupefied, the maddened, the plunderers, or such as delighted in scenes of violence and blood, must have fled far from the devoted precincts by every offered door of escape. Before Jerusalem was invested, multitudes, made prisoners in various parts of the Holy Land by Vespasian and Titus, were sold into slavery. Still greater numbers avoided captivity and the sword by flight. Upon the destruction of the city, seventy-seven thousand were driven away into degrading servitude, or sent to fight as gladiators in the different provinces of the empire. The fall of Jerusalem and the cruel fate of its inhabitants were a signal for the persecution and massacre of their countrymen in many Eastern cities. The Greeks and Syrians everywhere conspired against them, as a common enemy ; and within the next century, beginning with the reign of Trajan, these cruelties occasioned several revolts of the Jews, attended at times with great success against their enemies, but uniformly ending in overwhelming disaster to themselves. The accounts given of the numbers slain are almost incredible ; and the slave-marts of the empire were glutted with the wretched captives, — doubtless of little estimation in the market, so numerous were they, and so intractable to Gentile masters.

The eastern countries of Europe probably received their earliest Hebrew settlers as voluntary emigrants from Asia, before the subjugation of Judea by the Romans. At an equally early period, Western Europe may have received a few of the same character, through Africa and Spain, and by other routes. Some, no doubt, fled far to the West, both by sea and land, to find refuge from the horrors that thickened upon them in their own country and in many other parts of the East, after the time of the Roman invasion. But the captives known to have been transported to the occidental parts of the empire, and to Italy in particular, by Pompey, Vespasian, Titus, and Hadrian, were numerous enough to establish the race in all the West. It has been a common artifice with the Jewish historians, to date the settlement of their people in Christian countries at a very early period, — from the time even of Solomon or the Babylonish captivity, — in order to make it appear, that they had nothing to do with the

crucifixion of Jesus Christ, and so to escape odium and persecution. Thus, the Spanish rabbins, deprecating the intolerance of Ferdinand the Catholic and his clergy, asserted, that the Jews established a colony in Andalusia during Solomon's reign; and that Spain became tributary to that monarch, and furnished the treasures with which he built the temple. Similar pretensions are made by the Jews in Germany and elsewhere; and those of Worms actually obtained extraordinary privileges, under the pretence that their Sanhedrim wrote to the king of Judea, dissuading him from putting Christ to death. It is certain, that there were Jews in Treves and Cologne as early as the reign of Hadrian; yet, during several succeeding centuries, their number in the whole of Germany, which was peopled by tribes still barbarous, was quite small. Mohammedan persecution in the East drove multitudes of them thence, in the tenth and eleventh centuries, who joined their countrymen in Germany, Hungary, and Poland, where they are now more numerous than in any other states of Europe. Before the middle of the fifth century, when they became established in considerable numbers in France, there had been but few in that kingdom. Not until a still later period were many found in Great Britain.

To America, North and South, they have emigrated with the other settlers from almost every country of Europe. The exact time at which the first arrived cannot be ascertained; but within a very few years after the discovery of the New World, we find them in the Spanish colonies; and, as early as 1605, an edict from France directed their expulsion from the French American settlements. In 1639, David Nasci, a Portuguese Jew, and a native of Brazil, obtained permission from the Dutch West India Company to form a Jewish colony in the island of Cayenne, with the assurance of full civil and religious liberty to the settlers. On the conquest of this island by the French, in 1664, Nasci and his followers retired to Surinam, then belonging to the English, under whose sway, and afterwards under that of Holland, they continued to enjoy every privilege, and soon became a numerous and flourishing community. The Jews were early settled in Jamaica, and there, under laws for the most part equal, though they were excluded from filling any post under government, they have increased and prospered.*

* Hannah Adams's *History of the Jews*, ch. xxxiv.

The first who settled in the United States are said to have been Spaniards and Portuguese, who fled from the inquisition to the Dutch colony of New Amsterdam. To South Carolina the Jews came long before the Revolution, being German, English, and Portuguese emigrants ; and they are now more numerous there than in any other Southern State. To Georgia a few came over in 1733, soon after General Oglethorpe. In Virginia we find them before the year 1780. The Jews of this country are as mixed a people as those among whom they dwell, and much less disposed than the latter to forget petty differences, real or imaginary, in family or caste, among themselves ; and therefore not so rapidly assuming a homogeneous aspect.

The present number of the Jews throughout the world has been variously stated ; and, in respect to most countries, there are no sufficient *data* for the estimate. The difficulty of the subject will be understood best from a few examples. The Jews of European Russia, exclusive of Poland, says Judge Noah,* are, as we learn from an accurate census, 200,000 in number. Mr. Moritz, a converted Jew, residing, as a missionary to his own people, at Dantzic, estimates them at 2,000,000. The Jews of Tunis were numbered not many years ago, in the Weimar "Geographical Ephemerides," at 130,000 ; subsequently, by Messrs. Nicolayson and Farman, who visited that country, at 60,000. Late Scottish missionaries to the Jews were informed by a rabbi at Galatz, a town of only 5,000 inhabitants in Moldavia, that his countrymen there numbered but 500, while the British consul thought there were 2,000 ; Some have estimated those in the United States at only 15,000 ; others, at 50,000 ; while the Weimar "Ephemerides" puts down only 5,700 for the whole Western continent. The migratory disposition of the Jews, produced by exile and persecution, may account for some, but not the greater part, of these discrepancies. In countries where the civil authorities do not make the census, conjectural estimates only can be obtained. And those most interested in the inquiry, the Jews themselves, seem often religiously opposed to "numbering the people" ; for which David was severely rebuked and punished. † The Rev. Isaac Leeser, "Pastor

* See his Letter, dated June 18th, 1844. † 2 Samuel, xxiv.

of the Hebrew Portuguese Congregation of Philadelphia," in an article on "The Jews and their Religion,"* has given, we suppose, the best information respecting his people in that city, which he possesses; yet he only tells us, that "there are now three congregations in Philadelphia, numbering from 1,500 to 1,800 souls."

At several periods of their history, the Jews have greatly decreased in numbers; but for the last few centuries, comparative exemption from persecution has favored their increase, which has always been promoted by a creed enjoining marriage, and early marriage, as a religious duty. Different estimates of their present aggregate number have varied from about three to fifteen millions. From six or seven millions, however, the most trustworthy estimates do not greatly differ. "Of the two and a half tribes, Judah and Benjamin, and half Manasseh, I compute the number in every part of the world," says Judge Noah, "as exceeding six millions. Of the missing nine and a half tribes,† part of which are in Turkey, China, Hindostan, Persia, and on this continent,‡ it is impossible to ascertain the numerical force." §

No estimate can be formed of the number of Jews residing in Roman Catholic countries, particularly in Spain and Portugal, who conceal their religion under a Christian garb; probably, there are several hundred thousand of them. The

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* Rupp's *History of Religious Denominations in the United States.*

† Commonly denominated the "Ten Tribes."

‡ Judge Noah believes the American Indians to be of Israelitish descent.

§ The following particulars — among which those known to be substantially accurate are in italics — probably come as near to the truth as it is possible to approach it. Conjecture must be used in respect even to some of the states of Europe; and the estimate becomes more and more uncertain as we pass into Asia and Africa.

United States, 35,000; America, 75,000. Russia and Russian Poland, 1,700,000; *Sweden*, 1,250; *Prussia*, 194,588; *Denmark*, 6,000; Germany, 145,000; *Holland and Belgium*, 80,000; *Great Britain and Ireland*, 30,000; *Austria*, 453,524; Switzerland, 2,000; *France*, 80,000; Turkey (in Europe), 325,000; Italy, 200,000; Gibraltar, 2,000; Portugal, 1,000; Ionian Isles, 8,000; Europe, 3,228,362. *Palestine*, 12,000; Asia, 3,000,000. Africa, 500,000. Total, 6,803,362.

The Jewish population of different cities is nearly as follows: New York, 12,000; Philadelphia, 2,500; Baltimore, 1,800; Charleston, 1,500 London, 20,000; Amsterdam, 25,000; Hamburg, 9,000; Berlin, 5,000; Cracow, 20,000; Warsaw, 30,000; Rome, 6,000; Leghorn, 10,000; Constantinople, 80,000; Smyrna, 9,000; Jerusalem, 6000; Hebron, 800; Tiberias, 1,000; Saphet, 1,800.

numbers given for Asia and Africa certainly fall short of the truth. They are powerful in Persia and the countries upon the Indian ocean, in China, and on the borders of Tartary. Black Jews are found in Abyssinia, Ethiopia, and Hindostan. They have a congregation in Calcutta, and are quite numerous on the coast of Malabar ; where they speak of brethren residing in Northern India, Tartary, and China.

The external condition of the Jews, since the destruction of their city and temple and their final dispersion, could not be more strikingly depicted than it is, in a few words, in their own Scriptures. "The Lord shall scatter thee among all people, from the one end of the earth even unto the other." "I will deliver them to be removed into all the kingdoms of the earth for their hurt, and to be a reproach and a proverb, a taunt and a curse, in all places whither I shall drive them." "Among these nations shalt thou find no ease, neither shall the sole of thy foot have rest ; but the Lord shall give thee there a trembling heart, and failing of eyes, and sorrow of mind ; and thy life shall hang in doubt before thee ; and thou shalt fear day and night, and shalt have none assurance of thy life."* At no period of their dispersion has their general political condition been more prosperous than it is now ; but to regard them as an emancipated people, we must shut our eyes upon all but a few of the smallest portions of the race. In Mohammedan and pagan countries, the advance of civilization, comparatively small in itself, has wrought still less change for centuries in the situation of the Jews. State policy, or the native energy of an indomitable race, has sometimes raised them in such countries to places of outward respect, of influence and official power ; and, for the most part, they are suffered to live nominally free, and to pursue the ordinary avocations of life.

Since the last conquest of Constantinople, Turkish policy has inclined to tolerate the Jews ; and the consequence has been a great increase of their numbers in that city. They are often bankers for the grandees, and custom, acquiring the force of law, has established them as collectors of the customs and purveyors for the seraglio. Their taxes are not greater than those paid by other races in a similar condition. "The Jews," says Judge Noah, "are at this day the most influen-

* Deuteronomy xxviii. 64, 65, 66 ; Jeremiah xxiv. 9.

tial persons connected with the commerce and monetary affairs of Turkey, and enjoy important privileges ; but hitherto they have had no protecting influence." Where all rights are precarious, the privileges of the Jews especially have been the sport of despotic power. Mussulmen and idolaters alike, from the cradle, are almost universally taught to regard the Israelites as the vilest of mankind, or as a link between man and brute, — accursed of Heaven, and the lawful sport or prey of any one who has the small share of hardihood required to mock them, or to exact their property or service. They are the common objects of popular malice and superstition, and, whenever money may probably be extorted, of persecution and rapacity under the garb of office. Throughout the East, *Jew* is a name of reproach far viler than *Christian dog*. Dr. Wolff writes in his Journal, "We pitched our tents at Arass. A dervis flogged his ass, and called him *Yehudi* (Jew)." In Turkey, politeness requires a passing apology, whenever, in conversation, certain unclean animals are mentioned ; as, "I beg pardon, a *swine*" ; and so a Turk will sometimes say, "I beg pardon, a *Jew*." In some countries, the Jews are required to wear a prescribed badge, which is a blue slipper in Constantinople, and a black one in the empire of Morocco. Lieutenant Conolly, an English military man, who visited the holy city of Meshed in 1830, says, "The Jews may not pass the pale of the sanctuary, neither may they put foot within the college squares in which good men are buried ; on their clothes, however new, they must wear a patch at the breast ; their caps must not be of the same form as those worn by true believers ; and they dare not return abuse, much less a blow, given by a Mahometan, so that even children of the faithful race throw stones and dirt at them in the streets, unchecked by their parents, who think it a very meritorious act to worry the soul of a Jew." It was only in 1816, that the king of Sardinia allowed the Jews in his dominions to throw aside the badges formerly worn by them.

The Moors seem to consider the Jews born to serve them and bear their wanton insults. The Moorish boys torment the Jewish children for pastime ; and the men, with impunity, maltreat the male adults, and take the grossest liberties with the females. In 1804, many of them were subjected to horrible tortures in Algiers, merely because

they had unsuspiciously lent money to certain political conspirators ; and they were not released till they had paid an exorbitant ransom. In 1827, the Dey extorted from a rich Jew, by throwing him on some pretence into prison, 500,000 Spanish dollars. But the French occupation of Algiers has greatly improved the condition of this people in that country ; and, in consequence, their numbers have increased by immigration. At Tripoli, some years ago, they were heavily mulcted for a drought ascribed to them. In Persia their condition is no better. Frequently, when they are assembled in their synagogue, a soldier from the Shah enters with an order for money, which must forthwith be paid. They are often compelled to work as slaves without remuneration ; and their women are unceremoniously taken from them, without their daring to murmur. Mr. Wolff was told by a Mohammedan in Mesopotamia, "Every house in Shiraz with a low, narrow entrance is a Jew's. Every coat much torn and mended is a Jew's. Every man with a dirty camel's-hair turban is a Jew. Every one picking up broken glass, and asking for old shoes and sandals, is a Jew" ; and he afterwards found this description fully confirmed.

In Syria, the Jews are in a state of real servitude, and no change of masters has bettered their condition. Mohammedans and Christians alike hate and maltreat them ; and this hatred is heartily returned, as the latter find, whenever any circumstance gives their enemies a temporary advantage. When the Turkish succeeded the Egyptian troops in Damascus, a few years ago, they were stirred up by the Jews to persecute the Christians of every sect. When the Greeks rose against the Turks in 1822, the Jews eagerly joined against the Christians, especially in Constantinople ; while the Greeks, in revenge, murdered all the Jews on whom they could lay their hands. The Turks throughout Syria may compel the Jews to work without pay, and administer the bastinado if they refuse. The lowest fellaah will stop a Jew whom he meets travelling, and demand money, as a Mussulman's right ; and such extortion the same individual sometimes suffers several times a day. At Saphet, in 1834, many Jewish dwellings were plundered, and great cruelties inflicted to extort money. Indeed, throughout the East, the Jews are obliged to affect poverty, in order to conceal their wealth ; what is exposed to view is never safe from

Mohammedan rapacity. Though the great majority of those in Palestine are poor and dependent, some may be found there in comfortable circumstances, or even rich ; but their wealth appears to those only who gain their intimacy. Dr. Richardson, an English traveller, says, " In going to visit a respectable Jew in the Holy City, it is a common thing to pass to his house over a ruined foreground, and up an awkward outside stair, constructed of rough, unpolished stones, that totter under the foot ; but it improves as you ascend, and at the top has a respectable appearance, as it ends in an agreeable platform in front of the house. On entering the house itself, it is found to be clean and well furnished ; the sofas are covered with Persian carpets, and the people seem happy to see you." The synagogues in Jerusalem are, from prudential motives, both small and mean. A Jew dares not set foot within the Holy Sepulchre. When, in 1832, the Egyptian troops occupied Palestine, the Jews did not find their condition in the least improved. The common soldier made the best Jew sweep the streets, or perform any menial office.

The accounts received four years ago, of grievous cruelties practised upon the Jews at Damascus and Rhodes, though they excited, especially in Great Britain, unusual sympathy, exhibited instances of suffering by no means extraordinary. In 1823, all the Jews of Damascus, suspected of the crime of having wealth, were thrown into prison, and redeemed their lives only by an enormous payment. In February, 1840, Father Thomaso, a priest, who practised medicine, disappeared, as well as his servant. Certain Turks and Greeks affirmed, that both had been seen in the Jewish quarter the evening before. A Jewish barber was at once seized, carried before the Pacha, and examined under the most dreadful tortures. For a while he protested utter ignorance ; but at length, in the extremity of his suffering, at the suggestion of some Greeks standing by, he denounced the seven wealthiest men in the city ; declaring, that they had promised him eight hundred piastres, if he would sacrifice the priest, so that they might have his blood for the unleavened bread ; which he had refused to do. The Pacha, in a great rage, sent for the seven Jews, and subjected them, notwithstanding their protestations of innocence, to the bastinado and other extreme cruelties, keeping them

on their feet fifty hours, without food or sleep. He then sent for the three chief rabbins, and put them to the torture, requiring them to say if they used blood for the paschal bread. Of course, they denied the charge. The Pacha then sent to the college of children, put all the inmates in prison, loaded them with chains, forbade their parents to visit them, and fed them on a small allowance of bread and water, in hopes of thus extorting from the parents a confession. A Jew who ventured to expostulate with the Pacha, and to represent the absurdity of such an accusation and such proceedings, was at once beaten to death. The Pacha then caused the houses of the accused to be razed to their foundations ; and finding no trace of the two persons who had disappeared, he threw the prisoners into a sewer beneath the palace. No longer able to endure such torments, they admitted the truth of the charge. One of them said the blood had been put into a bottle and committed to another of their number ; this one, however, denied all knowledge of it, until a thousand strokes with rods compelled him to say he had put the bottle into a certain closet. Of course, it could not be found ; but in the closet was a large sum of gold, which the Jew had vainly hoped would save him. Meantime, an astrologer declared he had discovered by his art, that the accused were the murderers of the priest, and five others, whom he named, of the servant. Three of the latter fled before they could be apprehended. Some of the others embraced Islamism and were released. The French consul at Damascus was accused of being one of the chief instigators of these persecutions ; but other representatives of different European powers interfered, and the Jews of London sent a commission to remonstrate with the Sultan. Mehemet Ali soon issued orders forbidding further persecution until the matter could be fairly investigated ; and when released from the fear of torture, those who had confessed retracted their admission, the barber declaring that they had threatened to torture him to death unless he confessed, and had promised him safety if he would denounce the murderers.

In the island of Rhodes, about the same time, the Christians accused the Jews of sacrificing a child ten years old. Here, again, certain European consuls were said to have been the instigators. Witnesses were found to affirm, that a Greek child had been seen following a Jew on the public

highway. The Jew was arrested, thrown into chains, and bastinadoed ; his nostrils were pierced with iron, heated stones placed on his head, and a heavy weight on his heart. His persecutors endeavoured to induce him to denounce the chief rabbi ; and, at last, he accused several Jews, though not the rabbi. As many of these as could be found were seized, and subjected to similar tortures, under which seven persons suffered until almost deprived of life. The accused, or some of them, were afterwards taken to Constantinople for trial, and their innocence fully established ; and the Jewish commission from London, with others who interested themselves for the persecuted people, succeeded in obtaining a firman, dated Nov. 6th, 1840, putting an end to these cruelties both in Damascus and the island of Rhodes, and declaring that the Jews should be protected, and should enjoy the same rights as other nations dependent on the Porte.

These accumulated statements of cruelties practised upon the Jews, especially in Mohammedan countries, if taken by themselves, would undoubtedly give an exaggerated idea of their sufferings. It must be recollected, that vast numbers of them are too poor in reality, and many others too poor in appearance, to tempt cupidity ; that their oppressors treat them with some degree of leniency, as they do the brutes subjected to their service, from motives of self-interest ; that the rulers often protect them from the malice of the people, in order that their own revenues may not suffer ; that the natural feelings of humanity, quite extinct in no human breast, unnerve the arm of persecution ; and that the necessary influence and ready artifices of a race preëminently shrewd and intelligent save them from many imminent perils.

The darkest pages of history are those which exhibit Christianity, so called, as a persecuting religion. Before the epoch of the Reformation, bigotry, clothed with ecclesiastical power, was generally leagued with political tyranny and popular malice to oppress and destroy the Jews. To attempt to convert them to the Christian faith without violence was considered by most Roman Catholics as a wholly chimerical scheme, and the undoubted fact of their rejection by God, even more than the dreaded anathemas of the Church, seemed to place them beyond the pale of human sympathies.

Better prospects than at any period of their dispersion brightened before them with the dawn of the Reformation. The principles of that mighty change extended to all the interests of humanity, temporal as well as eternal; and planted the seeds both of religious and political regeneration. The hearts of the Reformers were moved with compassion towards the ancient people of God; and they advocated milder plans than those which had usually been adopted, to bring them over to the Christian faith. They discountenanced and condemned the system of wholesale plunder, from which, under the garb of zeal for the Catholic church, princes and prelates had for ages drawn a bloody revenue. But a period of lethargy among Christians in regard both to the civil and religious state of this people — a period of returning gloom — soon succeeded; and the French Revolution, itself one of the mighty effects of a reformation which necessarily emancipated human error and passion, at the same time with truth and reason, brought the first blessings of permanent civil freedom to any of the Jews of Europe. Previously, however, in this country, where, indeed, there were but few of that nation to enjoy the boon, the Constitution of the federal government had extended its equal rights to all but the colored race, without distinction of Jew or Gentile, Christian or infidel; and still earlier, the same principles had prevailed in the policy of most of the individual States. The constitutions of Massachusetts,* Maryland,† and North Carolina ‡ did, indeed, require belief in the Christian religion as a qualification for public office; but they left open to Jew as well as Christian every other field of competition and enterprise. Even the first Hebrew settlers under the Dutch government of New Amsterdam were allowed to acquire a right in the soil; and they were not deprived of this privilege, when the English succeeded to power. There is no country in the world, where the Jews, with political equality entire, as for the most part it is, enjoy so much freedom from popular prejudice, suspicion, and annoyance, and all the ordinary trials of their exile, as in the United States.

But we return to Europe. In the year 1780, the Emperor Joseph, sometimes called, on account of his liberal views and singular zeal for reformation, the "harbinger of the

* Chap. VI., Art. 1. † Sect. 55. ‡ Sect. 32.

French Revolution," as soon as he attained full dominion over the hereditary possessions of the House of Austria, relieved the Jews within his territory from many of their burdens. The infidel philosophers and politicians of that age at first opposed their emancipation, because of the Jews' testimony for the truth ; but as free principles advanced, or rather, when they had degenerated into a licentiousness that aimed at levelling all distinctions, such malice yielded to the policy of the day, and successive relaxations of the French laws, in 1784 and 1788, were followed, in 1790 and 1791, by a decree of the National Assembly, in answer to memorials from the Jews, granting them the full rights of citizenship. Five years later, a similar enactment was made in Holland.

The performance of Racine's tragedy of "Esther" is said to have excited Napoleon's sympathy for the Jews ; and he intended at once to improve their condition, and win them to his own interests. In 1806, their usurious practices led to complaint, and serious question, whether their rights, under the decree of 1791, should not be withdrawn. Whereupon, the emperor convened at Paris an assembly of the principal French Jews, to whom he proposed questions respecting their opinions and practices, with measures for establishing their brethren throughout the kingdom in honest and useful professions. The questions were answered, for the most part, to the satisfaction of the emperor ; and he called a grand sanhedrim of seventy-one members, to convert the doctrinal explanations of the first assembly into authoritative decrees ; hoping that the Jews out of the kingdom, also, would send representatives, and thus Paris would be made the centre of a powerful influence to unite and control the Jews throughout the world. The sanhedrim assembled at Paris in 1807, — a truly venerable body. A few foreign deputies attended ; but its authority has never been recognized out of France, nor by all in that country ; where, however, it seems to have been productive of benefit, in turning many Jews from dishonest and sordid to respectable and useful employments. Indeed, the decrees of this assembly contained a submissive renunciation of many firm Judaic principles. They declared, that France was the only "fatherland" of the French Jews, that intermarriage with Christians was lawful, and that no trades were prohibited.

Nothing further was done for the Jews until 1831, when, to carry out the article of the charter of 1830, giving *equal protection* to all religious sects, under which Protestantism, as well as Roman Catholicism, had already been *established*, the French Chambers voted to support Judaism also ; and, in May last, a royal ordinance gave a complete organization to the Jews throughout the kingdom, dividing them, like the Protestants, into consistories, and making the consistory of Paris a central, superior assembly, regulating all the rest. They have, too, a sort of synod, composed of deputies from the whole kingdom ; for which the Protestants have in vain asked during the last forty years. At the head of the grand consistory is the chief rabbi, a "sort of pope of the French Jews." They received the ordinance of May with great pleasure, and addressed a letter of thanks to the minister of justice and worship.

The emancipation of the Jews of Holland, in 1796, has been already noticed. Amsterdam contains nearly one third of the whole number of Dutch Jews. In some other parts of Europe, they have, within half a century, obtained equal rights, or an enlargement of their immunities. The German sovereigns have generally admitted them to almost every civil privilege ; the most important exceptions are the authorities of Lubeck, Bremen, and particularly Frankfort. Hamburg has very lately freed itself from further reproach, by a resolution of the burgesses, permitting the Jews, before restricted to a specified locality, to purchase real estate and reside in any part of the town or territory. The policy of Prussia — where, however, they cannot hold any public office — has been especially liberal towards them ; and in that kingdom, during eighteen years, ending with 1840, the Jews increased thirty-four and three sevenths *per cent.;* the Christian population not quite twenty-eight *per cent.;* the increase of each by immigration being about the same. In France, and in several other European states, where disabilities have been removed and privileges enlarged, the Jews have, at the same time, been brought under regulations not always so agreeable to them as was the ordinance of Louis Philippe. Thus, they have been subjected to military duty, in common with other citizens ; while, in some countries, the civil power has so far interfered with the synagogue worship as to secure order and decorum, to insure the proper qualification of the

rabbins, and even to compel the use of a liturgy in the vernacular tongue. Such regulations, the Jews in Bavaria and Würtemberg resisted, but were compelled at length to submit, their synagogues being closed until they yielded. In Prussia, they are compelled, if sufficiently numerous and wealthy in any district, to maintain schools of their own according to the general system; otherwise, to send their children to the Christian schools.

Strange to say, in England the Jews still suffer under grievous civil disabilities. In 1290, Edward the First banished all in his kingdom, and seized on their property. The exclusion was so rigid and complete, that no traces of them in that country occur again till the period of the Commonwealth. Cromwell made an unsuccessful movement in their behalf; and in his time they began to return in small numbers. In the reigns of Charles the Second and James the Second, some privileges were granted them; which, however, were withdrawn after the Revolution of 1688. In 1753, a bill was passed in parliament, not without virulent opposition, permitting Jews, who had been residents of Great Britain or Ireland three years, to be naturalized; but so odious did the law prove to the nation at large, that the ministry who had encouraged the enactment shrunk from its support, and it was repealed at the very next session. From the pulpit generally, by the mercantile corporations, and by a bigoted populace, it was vehemently opposed. Dean Tucker, who, almost alone among the clergy, wrote decidedly in favor of the naturalization of the Jews, was very roughly treated, and, by the people of Bristol, burnt in effigy in full canonicals, with his obnoxious writings. In May, 1830, on the back of the Roman Catholic emancipation act, another effort was made in parliament to emancipate the Jews; but it was opposed by the ministry, and failed. In short, the decree of Edward the First has never been formally abrogated; and though several acts of parliament have recognized, and thus legalized, their presence in the kingdom, England, with all her boasting of Roman Catholic and negro emancipation, still treats native-born Jews as foreigners, admitting them to few privileges but those of alien residents and traders. To a single inch of the soil they cannot obtain a title.

We have seen it stated, within a short time, that the coun-

cil of state of Geneva lately refused a petition of the Jews for the free exercise of their worship. In this country, we have little conception of the feelings entertained towards them by the populace of most European states. Many prejudices and superstitions, which we regard as follies of the Dark Ages, there often seem still deeply rooted. In 1818, they were expelled from Meiningen, in consequence of a persecuting spirit extending much beyond that duchy. "The desire of insulting the Jews," said a London paper, "seems as if it was spread all over Germany. Beginning at Würtzburg, it has extended not only to Bamberg and Frankfort, but also to Darmstadt, Mentz, and Prague, where the Jews are very numerous. The watchword is 'Hep! Hep!' (derived from the initial letters of *Hierosolyma est perdita*, — Jerusalem is lost) first raised by the German crusaders, in 1097," — who, it will be remembered, stained their good name by a murderous assault upon the Jews. In 1830, the populace rose, both at Hamburg and Breslau, shouting, "Down with the Jews!" and many of the rioters fell before they could be subdued. Four years later, a boy being found murdered near Neuenhafen, the Jews were accused of having killed him, in order to use his blood for the paschal bread; a neighbouring synagogue with all its furniture was destroyed, and many Jews suffered severely from personal violence. The Jews of Baden were threatened with a popular persecution not many years ago, because one of them had slain a Christian antagonist in a duel. In Poland, they are said to be grievously maltreated by the Christians. In many German towns, great jealousy prevails against them among the mercantile classes; and the members of the trades-unions refuse to work or associate with them. Throughout Hanover, and in Hamburg, Lubeck, Bremen, Frankfort, and even in Amsterdam, this spirit is said to prevail. The senate of Lubeck passed an act, in 1818, forbidding Christians to transact business with Jews, or to live with them as servants or clerks, on penalty of fine and imprisonment.

In Russia, and in some parts of Germany, they are subjected to many petty and vexatious exactions. The present emperor, Nicholas, on his accession to the throne, banished them from St. Petersburg, where they are not now permitted to sojourn more than a week without renewed pass-

ports. The Jews in Russian Poland have lately been subjected to military service ; and to the soldier's oath the government has added, for Israelitish recruits, the following clause : "I swear to be faithful to my standard, and never desert it, even should the Messiah come upon earth." About two years ago, an imperial ukase commanded all the Russian Polish Jews to remove fifty versts — about thirty-three miles — from the frontier, within a limited time ; under which order, it is said, 500,000 must leave their homes. The revocation of this decree, announced in the newspapers, seems not to have been obtained, though strong efforts were made for it. A still later act of the Russian council of state, approved by the autocrat, orders that no synagogue or Jewish school shall henceforth be erected within six hundred feet of any Russian Greek church.

The Sardinian laws respecting the Jews, though tolerating their presence in the kingdom, are very stringent. When the king, in 1816, dispensed with the Jewish badge, he deprived them, at the same time, of the power to hold real estate, ordering what they had to be sold within five years. Little better off are they in several other Italian states. The inquisition at Ancona, by an edict of June 24th, 1843, revived against them, within its jurisdiction, previous decrees, forbidding them to employ Christian domestics ; to sleep out of their *Ghetto*,* or induce Christians to sleep within it ; to visit familiarly Christian houses ; or to hold any permanent or funded property, — what they had being required to be sold, *bonâ fide*, within three months. In the States of the Church, they pay a heavy tribute for the degree of toleration enjoyed. Mr. Whyte, one of the Glasgow ministers whose lectures are mentioned at the head of this article, thus describes, from personal observation, in 1834, the ceremony, still annually repeated, with which the Jews of Rome are required to petition for another year's sufferance.

"The palace where we assembled, a part of which is the foundation of the ancient Roman treasury, stands on the Capitol, the most celebrated of the seven hills of the Eternal City. At one end of its most spacious hall there sat enthroned the senator of Rome, the highest civil magistrate. Before him kneeled four venerable rabbis, dressed in the attire of their highest and holiest festivals ; there seemed to settle down upon their expressive

* The *Ghetto* is the quarter assigned exclusively to the Jews.

countenances the melancholy of felt humiliation, mingling with conscious dignity, while the oldest of them read, on bended knees, a petition couched in the humblest terms, and pleading that the Jews might be allowed to remain another year in Rome. Rising with the pride of delegated authority, and with a look of tyranny, the senator read a letter from the pope, in which he condescended to prolong the stay of God's ancient people for another year in Rome, provided their conduct should be submissive and orderly, and on condition that they should pay a certain sum as tribute money. Before leaving the posture of suppliants, the venerable four presented each a bunch of flowers to the senator, — I suppose in token of their gratitude, and as a pledge that the tribute would be forthcoming. That very day the sum was paid, and the week after it was expended on the races of the Carnival; where it is difficult to say whether cruelty or folly predominates. During the Middle Ages, the pope used, on the occasion above alluded to, to place his foot upon the necks of the rabbis; but although this revolting ceremony has fled before the light of the nineteenth century, still the Jews are confined within a walled inclosure, in the filthiest part of the city, on the banks of the Tiber; sentinels are stationed at the two gates, and none of them must be seen upon the streets after ten o'clock at night, and before a certain hour in the morning." — pp. 194, 195.

Mr. Ridley H. Herschell, a converted Jew of London, where he now edits the "Voice of Israel," adds to the particulars given by Mr. Whyte, the fact, that the annual tribute is, by compulsion, paid on the Jewish Sabbath, a day which the Jews consider profaned by the receipt or payment of money; that it is presented in the form of a promissory note in a bouquet of flowers, which may explain part of the former description; and that, when he witnessed the ceremonial, the payment was "followed by a contemptuous command to 'Begone,'" on which he heard severe comments among the Roman Catholic spectators. He also mentions, that the Jews of Rome are obliged, at each Carnival, to compound, by another payment, "for the obligation to find so many Jews to run a race in the Corso."

In Tuscany, as also throughout the portion of Italy belonging to Austria, the Jews experience much better treatment. Those of Leghorn are said to have the largest fortunes in the country, and the finest synagogue in Europe, excepting that of the Portuguese congregation at Amsterdam. They have also several schools, and a good library;

and form a distinct community, the immediate governors of which are forty elders of their own.

Ferdinand and Isabella, after vanquishing the Moors, commanded all the Jews of Spain either to embrace Christianity, or to leave the kingdom within four months. Eight hundred thousand, according to the Spanish accounts, — according to the Jews, a million, — preferred exile, and suffered inconceivably in their emigration. Some of them took refuge in Portugal, whence, however, with all other Jews, they were soon expelled. Hundreds of thousands in both countries submitted to baptism in preference to exile; but in secret they still practised the rites of Judaism; some carrying dissimulation so far as even to take orders in the Roman Catholic church, and to become judges of the Inquisition, which, it is well known, was originally established in Spain about this time, principally to deal with relapsing Jews and Moors, who had preferred an outward profession of Christianity to banishment, and who were called "New Christians." In Spain, the Jews have never since been openly tolerated. To Portugal they were readmitted by John the Sixth about the year 1817, because some Jews had imported large cargoes of corn during a scarcity; and, at the request of the pope, they were allowed the same privileges that were accorded to them in the Roman States. Previously, in that kingdom, the name of Jew was so odious, that a law was passed, giving impunity to any one so called, who should slay the offender on the spot; and there, as well as in Spain, the descendants of the "New Christians," who still are Jews at heart, maintain the deception; though in Portugal, where some degree of liberty of conscience has for a few years been enjoyed, these will probably, it is said, soon return to the synagogue. Most of the avowed Jews in that country, at present, are recent immigrants. No longer ago than 1827, a person was put to death in Spain for the heresy of Judaism. The dissemblers there, to make the deception complete, often affect unusual Christian zeal. If a Spanish dwelling superabounds with religious ornaments and utensils, there is good reason for believing the family to be dissembling Jews.

Very ancient laws of Norway prohibited an Israelite's entering that country without a royal permit; and this prohibition was made a part of the constitution of 1814, when

Norway, though remaining under a separate government, had been united to Sweden. In 1839, it was proposed in the *Storthing* (the legislature, or parliament) to annul this fundamental law; and, as the constitution requires, the matter was referred to the Storthing of 1842. The latter, by a committee, investigated the subject; false representations of the state of the Jews in Holland were entirely contradicted by strong testimonies in their favor from the Dutch ministers of state, the president of the council of Amsterdam, and General Chassé; the theological faculty, the courts of law, and many of the merchants approved of the change; but the chambers of commerce generally opposed it; and though the committee, with only one dissenting voice, reported in its favor, but fifty-one members out of ninety-two voted for it, — not the requisite majority of two thirds. Some, however, who voted against it, have since felt compelled to publish a statement, that they are not opposed to the admission of the Jews, but considered the bill useless, because it did not provide for liberty of worship; and that they intended to introduce at the next session another bill more complete.

The rank and power which many European Jews have acquired by their learning, or more frequently by their wealth, have been at times an important safeguard to their poor, despised countrymen. None can estimate the influence, in this respect, of the Rothschilds, who, a few years ago, were five in number, with houses at London, Frankfort, Paris, Vienna, and Berlin; guiding the commercial, and sometimes almost the political, destinies of Europe; "holding in their hands the purse-strings of the civilized world." One of the brothers was presented to the pope in 1838; and his brethren in Rome profited by his presence to obtain permission to work at their trades. The pope not only granted this request, but also distributed alms among the poor Jews. Sir Moses Montefiori, a princely Israelite of London, was one of the deputation to the Turkish Sultan to obtain relief for the persecuted Jews of Damascus and Rhodes, and was the chief agent in procuring the firman already mentioned. He profited by this occasion to visit Palestine, and manifested a lively interest in the condition of his brethren in that land. A Jewish banker of Antwerp, M. Cohen, has lately received a knighthood of the order of Isabella from Spain!

The Jews have nowhere preserved faithful genealogical records, but almost always have abundant traditions of their descent, which, of course, are unworthy of credit. Yet supposing that the twelve tribes are now generally amalgamated, some portions of the mass, taken separately, must be less mixed than others. There are, no doubt, among them, though the distinction cannot certainly be traced, not a few pure descendants of some tribes; and none were so likely to keep themselves distinct as the tribe of Judah, claiming, as they did, preëminence. The Spanish and Portuguese Jews have always asserted a superiority in this respect; some said, that they were of the united tribes of Judah and Benjamin, including the Levites; others, that they were of pure descent from Judah; and others, still more arrogantly, that they were of David's royal line. Since they probably came from Judea about the time of the destruction of Jerusalem, they may undoubtedly be considered among the purest representatives of the two tribes. The German and Polish Jews, who were reinforced from the East, in the tenth century and subsequently, are of more heterogeneous elements. The latter are denominated Ashkenazim, from Ashkenaz, grandson of Japhet;* the former, Sephardim, from Sepharad,† a name which the modern Jews have given to Spain. These are found interspersed with each other in most parts of the world; but in general, it may be said, that the Sephardim belong to the different countries, European, Asiatic, and African, upon the Mediterranean sea. Thus, the forefathers of most of the present native Jews in Constantinople and Palestine came, as exiles, from Spain and Portugal, at the end of the fifteenth and the beginning of the sixteenth century. They have everywhere separate synagogues, and refuse intermarriage with the Ashkenazim. If any of their number marries one of the inferior race, excommunication immediately follows. Early in the present century, the daughter of a Portuguese Jewish physician, at Berlin, married a German Jew, and her family went into mourning for her, as for one dead. In this country, the same distinctions and pretensions are found, gradually wearing away, however, under the combined influences of Jewish neology and American democracy. "The Hebrew Portuguese Congregation" of Phila-

* Genesis, x. 3. † Obadiah, 20.

delphia has already been mentioned in another connection; this title itself indicates the still existing distinction. The Sephardim are generally more polished than the Ashkenazim; and in Europe, for the most part, are superior to them also in moral and religious principle. Along the shores of the Mediterranean, they have a dialect of their own, originally Spanish, but now modified by Hebrew words, phrases, and idioms, and called Judæo-Spanish. The Jews of Russia and Poland are represented as the worst to be found in any country; some would make them out to be little better than hordes of robbers; this, however, is an exaggeration. Bad as they may be, it is believed they are superior in morals to their Gentile neighbours: "He lives like a Christian," is with them an accusation of the grossest immorality.

As the Jews were anciently divided into several religious sects, — the Pharisees, the Sadducees, the Essenes, — so we find them distinguished at the present day. Their chief modern denominations, some of which represent the more ancient, are the Caraites, the Zabathaites, the Chasidim, the Rabbinists, or Talmudists, and the Reformed Jews. The Samaritans* are not to be classed among them, though akin to them in many respects. The main point of difference between most of these sects, though not the only one, respects the Talmud. The *Talmud* — a word that means *doctrine* — is a voluminous work of two parts, — the *Mishna*, that is the *second law*, and the *Gemara*, or *completion*. The former, consisting of a divine interpretation of the written law, say the Talmudists, was given to Moses at the same time with that delivered on Mount Sinai, together with rules for its exegesis, all to be orally handed down; and by him it was made known to the whole people, and specially committed to his successors. These traditions were collected in the Mishna, a work ascribed to Judah Hannasi, — the Holy, as he is usually called, — about the middle of the second cen-

* Mixed descendants of a remnant of the ten tribes left in their own land, and of the Assyrians colonized among them. 2 Kings, xvii. 24, &c. In Christ's time they had a temple on Mount Gerizim, which they held more sacred than Mount Zion and its temple. They receive only the Pentateuch, and perhaps the Books of Joshua and Judges, which are found among them; but confidently wait for the Messiah, and observe the Mosaic laws more strictly than even the Jews. Wolff found fifty families of them at the foot of Gerizim, and they have also been met with in other parts of Palestine and in Egypt.

tury. Many glosses upon this text soon accumulated, which the Rabbi Jochanan, about the year 230, threw together in the form of a perpetual commentary upon it, entitled the Gemara ; and this, with the Mishna, is called the Jerusalem Talmud ; though sometimes the Mishna, and sometimes the Gemara alone, is, by synecdoche, called the Talmud. About a century later, Ashi and Abhina, distinguished Babylonian rabbins, compiled a much larger collection of opinions, which, with the Mishna, is styled the Babylonian Talmud, a work held in much higher esteem than the other, and generally understood when the Talmud, without further specification, is mentioned. It has commonly been published in twelve large folios. The other is comprised in a single folio. The Talmud has been justly described as "containing things frivolous and superstitious, impieties and blasphemies, absurdities and fables." As an example of all these in one, — God is represented as having contracted impurity by the burial of Moses, and as washing in fire to cleanse himself. These traditions, many of them the same by which, in Christ's time, the Jews "made the commandment of God of none effect," since then, in accumulated instances, have been used to destroy the force of the Old Testament Scriptures ; which, indeed, Rabbinists consider of very little importance.

The Caraites are a most interesting, though a verysmall division of the Jews, said to number in all only about thirty thousand. They are found in isolated companies in several parts of Europe, Asia, and Africa, despised and hated by the great body of their nation. Unlike the other Jews, they have had fixed settlements, in undisturbed possession, as far back as they are known to authentic history.

"One party of them," says Mr. Whyte, "has reposed some hundreds of years on the margin of a beautiful lake in Lithuania ; for many centuries has another nestled in felt security on the mountain-rock of the Crimea ; while a third is said to have inhabited the desert of Hit, near the site of Babylon, from the time of Cyrus. The picturesque fortress of the Caraites in the Crimea, called the Jews' Castle, has been beautifully described by the celebrated traveller, Dr. Clarke, who tells us, that, in a sepulchral grove on the mountain side, there stands a tombstone, bearing a Hebrew inscription, the date of which reaches back more than six hundred years." — p. 197.

Besides these, they have small companies in Persia, and at Damascus, Constantinople, and Cairo ; and the missionary Wolff reports, that he met with a few at Jerusalem. They relate, that their ancestors, during the Babylonish captivity, were forced to make a stand for the paramount authority of the Scriptures, against an influx of new doctrines ; that they did not return to the Holy Land, but continued in the places of their exile ; whence, however, those portions of them now found in Europe and Africa must have emigrated. There is much in their condition and character to corroborate this account ; which is consistent with a statement made by those in Russia to the Empress Catharine, — that their ancestors had taken no part in the crucifixion of Jesus ; whose divine mission nevertheless they deny, looking still, with the other Jews, for the Messiah's advent. They are distinguished for their pure morality, especially for their veracity, an uncommon virtue in the East ; and instead of being a by-word and a reproach, they are said to be everywhere respected and well treated by their Gentile neighbours, as an industrious and hospitable race. They reject the Talmud altogether, adhering strictly to the Scriptures, and hence are called *Caraites*, that is *Textualists*, *Scripturists*, or *Readers ;* and they have given themselves the appellation of "Children of the Bible." Their Judaism is far purer than that of the Rabbinists, and not affected by the infidelity which prevails among more modern rejecters of the Talmud. They have sometimes been represented as Sadducees, of which sect, however, they exhibit no peculiarity, save the rejection of tradition. The Sadducees have made little figure since the destruction of Jerusalem. As a sect they can hardly be said to exist ; though travellers sometimes speak of meeting a few of them ; and though infidelity in some respects like theirs has always existed, and in modern times has become exceedingly rife, among the Jews.

The common expectation of a Messiah has given a wide scope for enthusiasm and fanaticism. About the year 1666, when the whole nation were looking for some remarkable event, there appeared in the East one of the most notable of the many, who, in different ages, have claimed to be Messiahs. Banished from Aleppo, his birth-place, and subsequently from Salonichi, this man, Zabathai Tzevi, travelled much, and then took up his residence at Smyrna. Great multitudes

followed him ; and when, to save his life, he professed the Mohammedan faith, though without renouncing his pretensions to the Messiahship, many imitated his example. His followers, denominated Zabathaites, are still found at Salonichi, outwardly professing Islamism, but Jews at heart, — a separate community, all living in the same quarter of the city, and mingling with the Turks only at the mosques and in business. He had many adherents in Poland, Holland, England, and other parts of Europe, some of whose descendants are said still to revere his memory ; and would, perhaps, agree with a class of Jews, which the chief rabbi of Cairo told Dr. Wolff was numerous, and who, without being avowed followers of Tzevi, declare, when embarrassed by passages of Scripture which speak of a suffering Messiah, that they think Tzevi may have been he. Tzevi and some of his followers pretended to work miracles, and to have visions and prophetic raptures.

In 1750, a Polish Jew named Frank, or Frenk, formed a new congregation in Podolia, sometimes called that of the Zoharites, after the much earlier admirers of the celebrated mystical book Zohar ; and these are improperly regarded by some persons as followers of Tzevi. These Frankists, as they are also denominated, were undoubtedly tainted with mysticism ; but their chief distinction seems to have been the rejection of the Talmud, which brought upon them the persecuting hate of the Rabbinists. Their faith, indeed, approximated to Christianity, which many of them embraced. They were once numerous, and are still found in Hungary and Poland.

The sect called at the present day *Chasidim*, the *Holy*, or *Pious*, who are not to be confounded with a party bearing the same name in the time of the Maccabees, date from about the year 1760 ; when, at Miedzyvorz in the Ukraine, a rabbi named Israel, taking the surname of Baalshem, "possessor of the name of God," by means of outward sanctity, and the pretended power of exorcism and working miracles, gained great multitudes of adherents. He obtained ten thousand followers within ten years, and before his death, which took place five years afterwards, forty thousand. The doctrines of the Chasidim are said to be of most pernicious tendency, promising the faithful absolution from the vilest enormities, and supernatural protection from the hostility

of all earthly powers ; and the sect has been reproached for every species of immorality and crime. Probably, however, these accounts are exaggerated ; and the Chasidim have doubtless improved since the age of their founder. Though they receive the traditions, they are at enmity with all other Jews ; and are especially bigoted in their hatred of Christianity. Their number seems to have been increasing ever since Baalshem's day, and now to be very large. Dr. Jost, a Jew opposed to them, declares, nevertheless, that their religion is at present that of nine tenths of all the Jews in Galicia, South Hungary, Wallachia, and West and South Russia ; and of great numbers in Bohemia, Moravia, Moldavia, and Poland. Their worship is marked by many extravagances ; they have been called "Jewish Jumpers." Working themselves into ecstasies, they laugh hysterically, clap their hands, and leap with frantic zeal about the synagogue, turning their faces and raising their clenched fists towards heaven, as if daring the Almighty to refuse their requests.

Rabbinism is the Catholic faith, from which all these sects are, in modern phrase, dissenters. It is the lineal descendant of Pharisaism, and distinguished by its blind adherence to the Talmud. The estimation in which strict Rabbinists hold this book is unbounded. "He that has learned the Scripture, and not the Mishna," says the Gemara, "is a blockhead." Isaac, a distinguished rabbi, says, "Do not imagine that the written law is the foundation of our religion, which is really founded on the oral law." The Rabbinical doctrine is, "The Bible is like water, the Mishna like wine, and the Gemara like spiced wine." Some even say, that "to study the Bible is but a waste of time." For strict Rabbinism, a melancholy compound of superstition and fanaticism, we must look to Poland, Russia, Hungary, and Palestine, of which we speak, in describing the system. In those countries, the Rabbinists, or Talmudists, discountenance as profane all other study than that of the Bible and Talmud, but are very careful to educate their sons in their religious lore. The Talmud forbids teaching females more than their appropriate domestic arts. "Whoever instructs his daughter in the Bible is as if he instructed her in abominations." But it is a disgrace, if boys are not taught to read the Hebrew Bible. The rich pro-

vide teachers for their own children, and either permit the poorer to share this provision, or aid them in obtaining masters. So honorable is the office of teacher made, that a bare support is enough generally to secure a competent one. The ordinary method of instruction is very simple. The child, when four years old, is taught the Hebrew letters, and then to pronounce words, the meaning of which he afterwards learns from his tutor ; and thus proceeds, without grammar or dictionary, until he can translate the Pentateuch with tolerable ease. Then he begins at Genesis to study exegetically, surrendering his mind, however, entirely to the guidance of some Jewish commentator ; and, from first to last, never forming an independent judgment, but implicitly following tradition, and of course never detecting its gross perversions of the Bible. Some stop short of this commentary, with which others conclude their education ; while others still, whose parents can afford it, especially if they display quickness in study and fondness for it, pass on to the Talmud, — first the Mishna, then the Gemara, each with its rabbinical commentaries. As an evidence of the ardor sometimes manifested in these studies, and of complete devotion to them, we are told, that a traveller, some years ago, met three young educated rabbins, who "were born and lived to manhood in the middle of Poland, and yet knew not one word of its language." A Jewish youth, distinguished for proficiency in Talmudical learning, is anxiously sought in marriage for the daughters of wealthy parents ; who look not only at the certain honor of such an alliance, but also at the chance, thus increased, of the Messiah's coming in their line. On the other hand, the Talmud designates by the name of "people of the land," equivalent to *peasantry*, those educated in the Bible alone, or not at all ; and represents them as an inferior class, fit only for servile labor, with whom others may not intermarry ; applying Deut. xxvii. 21, — "Cursed be he that lieth with any manner of beast." Indeed, the Talmud authorizes every species of oppression towards such, giving them the hope of heaven only if they submit. The Jewish "peasant" is a servant of servants, ground down by those who have learned, by being oppressed, the art of oppression. In Russia and Poland, where the Jews collect the government taxes among themselves, the rabbins make the peasantry pay nearly the whole. This class, too, where the

Jews regulate the conscription, must furnish all the soldiers required.

Some other characteristics of the strict Rabbinists may be briefly noticed. They are the lowest of the Jews in point of morals, and this is sufficiently accounted for by the gross immorality of many Talmudical precepts. On the great yearly *Day of Atonement*, complete absolution from all past sins is pronounced, and from all religious vows, bonds, and oaths taken since the last preceding, and until the next, atonement. This latter absolution, contained in a prayer denominated *col nidre*, being supposed by Christians to extend to all oaths and obligations, civil as well as religious, which the Jews deny, has caused them much trouble in some parts of Europe. The Talmud teaches, moreover, that no respect is due to a Gentile's, or an unlearned Jew's, rights of property ; and it accumulates other abominable doctrines, too numerous, and some of them too vile, to mention. Indeed, the modern Rabbinical Jews are generally, in practice, superior to the precepts of the Talmud. They believe in a purgatory, and pray for the souls of the dead ; they hold that all Hebrews will rise in the Holy Land, those dying elsewhere rolling painfully under ground until they reach that soil ; and that "all Israel hath part in eternal life." The dead buried in the Holy Land are expected to be the first to rise in the Messiah's day ; and so strong has been the desire of burial there, that in the seventeenth century large quantities of Jewish bones were yearly sent thither to be interred. Ship-loads of this melancholy freight might often be seen at Joppa. They believe that a council properly constituted is infallible, and practically, by their implicit confidence in the Talmud, they make the ancient rabbins their "fathers." They place a high estimate on the merits of good works, especially those of a ceremonial kind. Thus, though the reading of the Bible is considered hardly a good act, and even as a positive waste of time, the act of taking out the Pentateuch from its depository in the synagogue, and the duty of standing on the left side of the reader, and of closing and removing the roll after service, are considered highly meritorious, and the privilege of performing them is often sold to the highest bidder. A pilgrimage to the Holy Land, much more to pass one's life there, is a superlative merit. They place great confidence in the supererogatory merits of their ancient saints, especially

of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, for the males, and of Sarah, Rebekah, and Leah, for females. They have daily morning and evening prayer in the synagogue ; and all the prayers for public and private devotion are prescribed, and in Hebrew ; for the Talmud affirms, that the angels who receive them understand no other language. Women, servants, and children under twelve years of age, are not required to observe the hours of prayer. The Jews of the Holy Land are, perhaps, singular in praying to saints, and honoring and even worshipping relics. They never approach the supposed stones of the temple, some of which are much worn by kissing, without removing their shoes. Every spot where a saint is supposed to be buried is a place of prayer and pilgrimage. The Talmudists do not allow women to attend the synagogue, until they are married ; and then, in Poland, Russia, and the East, they occupy a separate apartment.

Public worship among the Talmudical Jews is, for the most part, where the civil power has not interfered, very irreverent and disorderly. A missionary at Beyroot saw comfits thrown among the people in the synagogue, when particular portions of the service were read, *to show the sweetness of the law !* and the audience — some of the adults, and all the boys — tumbling over one another in the scramble for them on the floor. The Talmud declares, that, in observing the feast of Purim, " Every man must get so drunk, that he cannot distinguish between the phrases, *Blessed be Mordecai*, and *Cursed be Haman*." While the Talmud imposes many burdensome ceremonies in addition to the Mosaic institutions, it also furnishes multiplied expedients for lightening the latter ; and a fertile ingenuity, newly exercised for each emergency, or perpetuated in legendary rules, has extended the dispensation to every desirable point. Stephens, in his travels in the Holy Land, lodged with a Jew, who would not suffer a lamp, lighted the day before, to be extinguished on the Sabbath ; but " described an admirable contrivance he had invented for reconciling appetite with duty ; — an oven, heated the night before to such a degree, that the process of cooking was continued during the night, and the dishes were ready when wanted on the Sabbath." Yet even the Talmudical Jews are generally superior in morals to their Christian neighbours, especially in the point of female purity. No wonder they hate the New Testament, reading it only

through the profligate and intolerant conduct of their persecutors.

Hospitality and alms-giving to their brethren are sacred duties among all the Jews. A large majority of those in Palestine are paupers, and, for their support, contributions, averaging fourteen thousand dollars a year, are made in different parts of Europe, deposited at Amsterdam, and thence transmitted to Beyroot. Jerusalem, Hebron, Tiberias, and Saphet are holy cities in Jewish esteem, and in all the Italian synagogues money-boxes are kept, marked, "For Jerusalem," "For Saphet," &c. The largest collections are in Amsterdam. Leghorn sends about four thousand dollars. But the poor unlearned Jews of Palestine are greatly oppressed by the rabbins, and generally defrauded, wholly or in part, of their share in these charities. When the Hebrew quarter at Smyrna was destroyed by fire, in 1841, Mr. Rothschild, of Vienna, gave 20,000 francs for the sufferers. He and his brothers have lately offered 100,000 francs for founding a Jewish hospital at Jerusalem. Sir Moses Montefiori, during his late visit to Palestine, contributed munificently to the wants of his poor brethren there.

We might confidently look for reformers under such a system as Rabbinism ; and, even without the name of reformation, for wide departures from the Talmud, either towards the "old paths," or to infidelity. The man who in modern times exerted the most commanding influence on Judaism was Moses Mendelssohn. He was born at Dessau, in 1729, was carefully educated in the Bible and Talmud, but was thrown upon Hebrew charity in Berlin, at the age of thirteen. Following the bent of his own genius, and stimulated by various associations, he left the dreary paths of tradition, to pursue the intricate but flowery ways of Gentile philosophy. He even improved the German language, in which he wrote with great taste. The influence of his works and his example was soon manifest. An enthusiasm for German literature and science was awakened among the Jewish people, when they beheld their kinsman ranking with the first scholars of the age. "Parents wished to see their children like Mendelssohn. Rashi and Kimchi, the Shulchan, Aruch, and Josaphoth, were laid on the shelf. Schiller and Wieland, Wolff and Kant, were the favorite books of the holy nation." Mendelsshon was very strict in Tal-

mudical observances, and did not in his works directly oppose them ; yet he certainly intended to undermine Rabbinism, and covertly labored to obliterate superstitions and prejudices, and to render his religion consistent with free intercourse between Jew and Gentile, and with the palpable benefits of modern progress in letters and refinement in manners. After all, he was probably at best but a deist ; and he certainly lacked that directness, candor, and earnestness of purpose, which true-hearted reformers have usually manifested. Christians must deny to Judaism that vitality which is essential to its maintenance upon the true basis even of a pure pre-Messianic creed. As a system, though not indeed strictly in each individual, it must ever oscillate between Rabbinism, or the like, and rationalism, — finding no stable, middle, spiritual ground.

Mendelssohn died in 1786 ; but others arose to carry out his innovations. A Jewish literary and philosophical society was formed at Königsberg, in 1783, which supported the first Jewish periodical ever published, — a journal devoted to the cause of reform. The "new light" rapidly spread ; and now Mendelssohnism, in different varieties, inclined more or less to the Talmud, or to infidelity, is the religion of a great majority of the Jews in all Europe west of Poland, into which country itself, especially Austrian Poland, the revolution has in some degree extended. The "Jews of the New Temple," or "Rational" or "Reformed Jews," as they are called, where their numbers have not secured peaceable ascendency, have generally seceded from the Talmudists ; who, on their own part, where the so-called reformation has made good progress, adhere to the Talmud scarcely even in name.

The creed of the new sect has never appeared in an authoritative shape, but may be gathered from their writings and practices. The believers in it agree, that the Jews are no longer a chosen people, in the sense hitherto commonly received. They reject the Talmud, professing to receive the Hebrew Scriptures as the true basis of religious belief, and as a divine revelation ; though after explaining away their inspiration, and the miracles recorded in them, on rationalistic principles. Regarding the Mosaic institutions as never abrogated, they consider, however, that most of their requirements are applicable only to a state of national estab-

lishment in Palestine ; and therefore hold, that, until the unknown period of the Messiah's advent, and Israel's restoration, such laws only are to be observed as are necessary to preserve the essence of religion, or useful to form pious ecclesiastical communities, and which do not interfere with Gentile governments, with any of the existing relations of life, or with intellectual culture. The synagogue service has been remodelled ; and the modern languages have been generally substituted for the Hebrew. A weekly lecture has taken the place of the semi-annual sermons of the Rabbinists. Contrary to the precept of the Talmud, instrumental music is introduced into public worship. "The question of organ or no organ," says a late journal devoted to the Jews, "divides Judaism on both sides of the Atlantic."

Before long, the latitudinarian views of the leaders in this movement clearly discovered themselves ; and there was a temporary reaction in favor of Rabbinism, to which the more devout among their converts receded. Yet the new system has signally prevailed and flourished. It is in France, perhaps, that the Jews have thrown off most completely the trammels of Judaism, — indeed, of all religion. They now style themselves *French Israelites*, or *Israelitish Frenchmen*, according to the doctrine of Napoleon's Sanhedrim ; and seem anxious to amalgamate themselves more and more with the nation at large. Most of their leaders are infidels, undisguisedly aiming to obliterate all the common notions about a Messiah, as utterly superstitious ; referring the prophecies of his advent — which they still nominally treat as prophecies — to the political emancipation of the Jews in the various lands of their sojourn. "The Regeneration," a journal published at Paris by some of their most learned and influential men, has represented the French Revolution as the coming of the Messiah, bringing, first, judgment, then, liberty and peace. The grand rabbi of Metz, a few years ago, in addressing the Jews of his district, spoke thus : —

"God has permitted different religions, according to the different necessities of men, in the same way as he has created different plants, different animals, and men of different characters, genius, constitutions, physiognomies, and colors. Consequently, all religions are salutary for those who are born in these religions ; consequently, we must respect all religions. All men, without distinction of religion, will be partakers of eternal beatitude, provided they have practised virtue in this life."

On the 12th of June last, a voluntary Jewish synod met at Brunswick, composed of twenty-five eminent rabbins, from various parts of the continent. It was the first of a proposed succession of annual synods, to deliberate on Jewish affairs. They sat eight days, passed various resolutions proposing important changes, and declared their concurrence in all the decisions of Napoleon's Sanhedrim. The Jews of England, though visibly influenced by residence in so enlightened a kingdom, were all nominally Rabbinists, until, within the last four or five years, a reforming party seceded in London; whence their principles and denomination — "British Jews" — have since gradually spread. Even among those who remained, great difference of opinion prevails as to Talmudical observances. Both there and in this country, the Portuguese Jews seem most active in the work of revolution. The tide of Jewish emigration to the United States is rapidly swelling; and as it comes from many lands, it exhibits a variety of hue. But the voluntary emigrant is ever and characteristically a lover of change; and here the Talmud has little sway, and that rapidly declining. Mr. Leeser represents the Bible alone as the basis of the Jewish faith; and in the whole article already referred to, does not so much as mention the Talmud. He edits, at Philadelphia, "The Occident and American Jewish Advocate," the first Jewish periodical established in this country. Soon after its establishment, "The Israelite," a weekly German paper, devoted to the same cause, and also published in Philadelphia, was announced; whether this still survives, we know not. Mr. Leeser expects a literal Messiah, — not God, or a son of God, but a mere man, eminently endowed, like Moses, to accomplish all that is foretold of him. He protests against some of the decisions of the late Brunswick synod, particularly the one reaffirming the *dictum* of the French Sanhedrim, that Jews might intermarry with Gentiles. He has long had in his congregation a Sabbath school, or a school for religious instruction, held, not on the seventh day, but on the Christian Sabbath, which Christian observance makes necessarily a day of convenient leisure for the purpose.

Among the stricter Jews, all over the world, the expectation of Messiah's advent is becoming more and more anxious. They not unfrequently talk, though without serious purpose, of embracing Christianity, should he not appear

within a certain time. Migration to the Holy Land is visibly increasing. Multitudes from all parts of the world would hasten thither, could they become possessors of the dear soil, and enjoy reasonable protection. Mr. Noah proposes, that Christian societies and governments interested in the welfare of the Jews should exert their influence to procure these advantages for them in their native land of promise. The suggestion deserves notice.

Of modern efforts for the conversion of Israel to Christianity we can speak but briefly. The chief extraordinary obstacles which have hitherto opposed such efforts have been, a bigotry which treated the bare thought of investigating Christianity as a heinous sin, and which was ever prepared to stifle free inquiry by persecution; the character of Talmudical education, which disqualified the pupil for independent judgment; and accumulated prejudices against a religion too often exemplified only by profligate persecutors. But all these obstacles are gradually sinking away; nor does growing infidelity appear so formidable as the superstition and fanaticism which have given place to it. Moreover, the spirit of inquiry, and the dissensions kindled by the progress of the revolution which Mendelssohn commenced, are favorable to Christian effort. We shall speak only of what Protestants have done.

"There occurs still," says Mr. Whyte, "the annual exhibition of a Jew baptized at Rome; which ceremony I was privileged lately to witness. It took place in one of the most splendid churches, called St. John Lateran; the office was performed by a bishop; the convert put off the Jewish profession only for a time, and that, too, for a bribe; and, as I was informed by a Roman Catholic on the spot, the same individual had been known to come forward year after year, and to have been baptized several times." — p. 238.

The first systematic efforts, on right principles, for the conversion of the Jews, after the Reformation, began with the establishment of the Callenberg Institute, at Halle, in 1728. This institution owed its origin to the pious zeal of Dr. Francke, and his pupil, Dr. Callenberg, though the former died before its formation. The Moravians seconded this enterprise, and of themselves, also, about the same time, sent missionaries to the Jews. The celebrated Schultze, who travelled much over Europe, Asia, and Africa, was

sent out by the Callenberg Institute ; which also published parts of the New Testament, and various tracts, in Hebrew and Arabic. It flourished about sixty years ; then declined with the declining piety of its supporters, and soon came to an end. In 1809, there was established at London "The Society for promoting Christianity among the Jews" ; and since, several auxiliary and independent associations have been formed for the same purpose in other parts of Great Britain. On the continent, similar societies exist at Basle, Frankfort-on-the-Main, Berlin, Posen, and Breslau. The London institution is connected with the church of England. Its receipts for the year ending May, 1844, were £24,325. It employs seventy missionaries — thirty-six of them converted Jews — at twenty-seven stations in Great Britain, and in various parts of continental Europe and the East ; and it maintains in London a Hebrew college, two schools, and, as a place of employment and instruction for converts, the "Jewish Converts' Operative Institution" ; also, eight schools in the duchy of Posen. The missionaries of this society have made many converts ; three hundred and seventy-five baptisms are recorded in the London Jews' chapel, a good proportion of them being of adult proselytes. Their most interesting field of labor is the Holy Land ; they have stations at Jerusalem, Hebron, Tiberias, and Saphet. In November, 1841, the Rev. Michael Solomon Alexander, a converted Jew, was consecrated "Bishop of the united Church of England and Ireland to reside at Jerusalem," with jurisdiction over Palestine, and, for the present, over the rest of Syria, with Chaldea, Egypt, and Abyssinia. He entered his diocese in January, 1842. This appointment had been proposed by the king of Prussia, by a special ambassador to Queen Victoria, and a particular communication to the archbishop of Canterbury, with a view not only to the conversion of the Jews, but to the spiritual benefit of his own subjects in Palestine ; and he subscribed £15,000, as half of the endowment of the new see, the annual stipend of which is fixed at £1,200. The London society added £3,000. The bishop is to be nominated alternately by the crowns of England and Prussia ; the archbishop of Canterbury, however, who is the metropolitan, having an absolute veto on the Prussian nomination. Before the bishop's arrival, there had been an

Episcopal chapel erected on Mount Zion. He laid the corner-stone of a new church in February, 1842, but great opposition has been made to its completion. Last year, however, a firman authorizing it was obtained from the Porte by the British ambassador.

In 1838, the General Assembly of the church of Scotland projected a mission to the Jews, and sent abroad four ministers on a tour of inquiry. They set out in April, 1839, and were absent about seven months ; in which time they traversed parts of France, Italy, Malta, Egypt, Palestine, Syria, Asia Minor, Wallachia, Moldavia, Hungary, Poland, and Prussia. The " Narrative of a Mission of Inquiry " is a highly interesting record of their travels. Since their return, missions have been established at Pesth, in Hungary, Jassy, the capital of Moldavia, Damascus, and Constantinople. Upon the disruption of the Scottish church, all the missionaries which she had sent out adhered to the seceding body, or the free church ; with which the Irish Presbyterian church and the English Presbyterian synod have since zealously coöperated in their efforts for the Jews. At Pesth, especially, they have met with success perhaps unparalleled in the history of modern Jewish missions. At Jassy, too, where the prospect for a while seemed dark, a remarkable movement in favor of Christianity has commenced.

Dr. Tholuck has said, that more real converts have been made from Judaism within the last quarter of a century than altogether previously, since the primitive ages of the Church. In Berlin alone, there are reported to be one thousand converted Israelites ; and twenty-two hundred have embraced Christianity in the Prussian dominions within eighteen years. Many of the most eminent scholars and professors in Europe are converted Jews. Nearly half a score of them occupy chairs in the University of Berlin, and among them are the celebrated Neander and Benary. Five are professors and two are lecturers in the University of Breslau ; five are professors in that of Halle ; and after we have named, in addition, Wehl, Arabic professor at Heidelberg, and Dr. Stahl, of Erlangen, an uncounted number still remain in Germany alone.

But one foreign missionary to the Jews belongs to this country, — Mr. Schauffler, sent to Constantinople by the American Board of Missions, in 1831, to be supported by a

"Ladies' Jews' Society," of Boston. "The American Society for meliorating the Condition of the Jews," by which "The Jewish Chronicle," at first a newspaper, now a magazine, is published monthly, was incorporated by the legislature of New York, in 1821, though it had previously existed for about five years, under another name, as "The American Society for evangelizing the Jews." In 1827, they purchased a farm at New Paltz, Ulster county, in that State, as an asylum for converted Jewish emigrants from Europe; but they accomplished little, and sold the farm in 1835, and languished until 1841, when a new impulse was received. They now employ an active missionary in the city of New York, and a travelling agent; and they have invited Mr. John Neander, of Cassel, in Germany, to labor, under their direction, as a missionary among the Jews of this country. Several societies, auxiliary to this, have been formed in the United States, especially in New England; and in the summer of 1843, there was established, at Philadelphia, "The Pennsylvania Society for evangelizing the Jews," for missionary operations in that State. American evangelists in foreign lands are often able to devote some effort to the sons of Israel, who are found everywhere. Yet it must be confessed, that the church of this country has done little, far too little, for this most interesting and important object. But even the unprecedented multiplication of late, here as well as in Great Britain, of popular works respecting the Jews, manifests, what is otherwise also clearly indicated, the dawn of a brighter day for the exiled daughter of Zion.

Art. IV. — *An Introduction to the History of the Revolt of the American Colonies; being a Comprehensive View of its Origin, derived from the State Papers contained in the Public Offices of Great Britain.* By George Chalmers. Boston: James Munroe & Co. 1845. 2 vols. 8vo.

To write a good history or a good biography is no easy thing. He who undertakes to give an account of the transactions of the past has need of physical, moral, and mental

qualities which are seldom found combined. He should love hard study, and be able to endure it. Calmness and patience should never forsake him. He should know that nothing is to be taken on trust, and should contentedly devote days and even weeks to verify an incident that can be stated in a single line. He should sift testimony as thoroughly and weigh it as accurately as the judge upon the bench, and should know no sect in religion, and no party in politics. Since, in almost every political event of moment, he will find that some good men have been given over to obloquy and shame, and that some bad men have been elevated to distinction, he should not hesitate to declare the truth, and the whole of it, in relation to both. To popular opinion, whether past or present, he should not listen ; since to correct that opinion, whenever wrong, is an important part of his duty.

We have often heard the remark made by intelligent persons, that a man may be an eminent historian without possessing either genius or originality. We do not think so. To recast and work over again the thoughts, opinions, and reasoning of other authors is not to write history. The annalist, like the poet, is not made, but is born with an aptitude for his particular department. Thus, no one will deny to Scott great intellectual or great creative power ; but his admirers will never rest his fame on his "Life of Napoleon." Nor will any one hesitate to accord to our own Marshall reasoning faculties of the highest order ; yet few would cite the first volume of the first edition of his "Life of Washington," as the best work on our Colonial annals.

The book before us was written by an able, honest, labor-loving, but strongly prejudiced, loyalist. George Chalmers, we venture to say, was never so happy as when delving among state papers. He had official concern with those of England for nearly half a century, and he used them for the composition of several valuable works upon British and American history. He wrote from the best sources of information, and his productions are entitled to consideration and respect. His "Political Annals of the United Colonies" is esteemed, and has been quoted and relied upon as good authority almost universally. His "Life of Mary, Queen of Scots" shows the ardor and zeal which he could bring to bear upon a favorite object. It is the plea of an advocate, to prove from official documents, that this unfor-

tunate daughter of the Stuarts was innocent of the murder of her second husband; and most manfully and earnestly did he perform the task.

The "Introduction to the History of the Revolt of the American Colonies" was meant to serve a particular end, and implicit faith, therefore, is not due to the author's statements. His general fidelity we do not dispute; but his antipathies were strong, and they sometimes led him to unfair conclusions. He disliked the principles of the people of New England, and seldom mentions them without showing his prejudices. He liked the Virginians, takes pains to extenuate their faults, and attributes their final defection to the ever-present, ever-mischievous influence of "the levellers" of the North. He lived in Maryland in the early part of his life, and he remembers that Colony in kindness, and speaks of it often in terms of affectionate interest. He sees designs to throw off the yoke of colonial vassalage in the common and every-day disputes of parties formed for temporary purposes, and in the struggles, constantly taking place among a people who were already free, to carry out special measures, or to obtain place and power. He expresses his opinions frankly and fully, and, we doubt not, with entire sincerity. His views upon the question of independence are certainly wrong, as applied to the Middle and Southern Colonies; and, as regards those of the North, in the absence of recorded proof by the New England people themselves, there will ever be a difference of belief in respect to the facts and circumstances relating to this point, that are furnished by their documentary history and by other evidence. Mr. Sparks has examined the subject with his usual care and ability, and has arrived at the conclusion, that separation from the mother country was not desired by any of the Colonies while hope of redress remained. Such is the opinion of American authorities very generally; but it is known, that some who have devoted themselves to the inquiry have arrived at opposite conclusions.

Chalmers often laments and severely rebukes the inattention, weakness, and ignorance which prevailed in the councils of England with regard to her American Colonies; and few who administered her affairs during the period of which he treats escape his censure. On many occasions, when British subjects of all classes at home were alarmed at the

origin or progress of some particular branch of Colonial industry, or appealed to the government to protect them from the effects of transatlantic skill or enterprise, he complains, that the ministers, who should have been most active, remained passive spectators of the wrong which it was their duty to correct. He complains, also, because such frequent concessions were made to the Colonists, in matters which touched their civil rights rather than their pursuits, and because there was no settled system for their general government. Indeed, the leading principle or doctrine of the work seems to be, that the Colonies were allowed far too much freedom, and that their final independence was the natural result of continued and ill-advised indulgence. In other words, he thinks that carelessness and kindness, and not extreme watchfulness and undue severity, were the causes of their "revolt." In his view, the American subjects had but few grievances to redress at any time; but having learned, at an early period of their history, that turbulence, clamor, and tumult were sure to obtain any object which they desired, they grew refractory just in proportion to their success, and to their increase in numbers and advance in wealth. To trust the wayward people of New England to their own guidance, to listen to their representations, to heed their hypocritical canting when molested, to allow their evil example to corrupt and alienate the other Colonists, was a remissness of duty, which he often mentions as having produced the most fatal consequences.

The policy, which prevailed in the time of George the Second, of appointing native governors, and that which originated in an earlier reign, of commissioning one person to be chief ruler of several Colonies, meet with his unqualified condemnation. In the collisions which occurred between the servants of the king and the popular assemblies, his sympathies are generally with the former; and of the many disputes which he notices, he certainly admits but one in which the delegates of the people were "altogether right," and the royal representative "altogether wrong." He admires the skill and vigor evinced by the statesmen of France in governing her American possessions, and attributes her greater success in ruling them to the simpler form of her colonial government, and to the greater talents and more exact obedience which she required in the officers placed at

the head of affairs. In a word, energy and uniform firmness in executing the system, adopted in Europe, for administering the affairs and retaining the dependence of distant possessions would have insured to England and her Colonies a permanent and a happy connection with each other.

The style of Chalmers is concise and vigorous, but is deficient in simplicity, clearness, and finish. He designed to inform political men about political events, rather than to please and amuse the general reader; and the meaning which he intended to convey respecting the origin and progress of Colonial disaffection is usually obvious; but the sense of other passages is not always easily ascertained. He was fond of short and pithy expressions of opinion; but what he thus meant for maxims are not always beautiful or sound.

Chalmers rests from his labors, and this fact alone would be sufficient to deter us from passing any severe criticism upon his work, devoted, as it principally is, to topics on which men may conscientiously differ, did it deserve such treatment at our hands, or were we disposed to undertake the task. But there are portions of it which we cannot suffer to pass without notice, and without expressing our earnest and pointed dissent from the opinions therein conveyed. These portions relate principally to New England, especially to Massachusetts; and from the extracts we now proceed to make, our readers will perceive, we think, that common justice is done to neither.

"New England was at length planted by accident, after several expensive efforts had failed. A few fanatics, who, tired of the European world, because it denied to them that toleration which they showed little inclination to allow to others, sailed for Virginia, but were driven by storm on the coast of New England. Here they determined to end a disastrous voyage, since the approach of winter, as well as their distresses, forbade further adventure. But sagacity soon discovered, that he who appears to be animated with the fervors of religion may at the same time be actuated by the most ardent ambition." — Vol. I., pp. 26, 27.

We shall enter upon no defence of religious intolerance; it is a stain upon the memory of all who have practised it. But history should be just, and we may therefore notice, once for all, the many unkind allusions of Chalmers to whatever of it existed among the founders of the Northern Colo-

nies. It may not have been right to establish Congregationalism in Massachusetts by law; but it was quite as justifiable as the act of establishing Episcopacy by the same authority in his favorite Colony of Virginia. To refuse the exercise of civil rights to clergymen who had not received church-ordination was quite as inexcusable in the latter as to insist upon church-membership as a qualification for enjoying the same privileges was in the former. It was a great wrong for Puritans to banish Quakers and Baptists; but it was equally wrong for Churchmen to banish Puritans. Calvert laid the foundations of religious freedom in Maryland broad and deep; but of what faith were those who overturned the structure which that noble man had built, and who, alike regardless of charter and individual rights, declared that persons of his communion were beyond the pale of British protection? When so many were guilty, it is dangerous to accuse one.

In this connection, we may also notice the frequent charge, that the religion and politics of these "fanatics" were inseparably connected. If they found comfort in the Bible, we rejoice at it; for men so weary and sorrowing needed all the consolation which it could impart. If they held that those who followed them to their place of exile, and who assumed to direct all their movements, were bound by its precepts, and if they quoted these precepts in order to shield themselves from oppression, who shall rebuke them? We might plead their cause after their own fashion, if custom and taste had not so changed, as to make those arguments appear puerile now, which seemed most cogent in their ears. When they read that "in *all* labor there is profit," and "he that laboreth laboreth *for himself*," they might well plead the authority of Scripture against their fellow-subjects who sought to restrain their pursuits and seize upon the rewards of their enterprise. The exclamation of Paul, "I was free-born," saved him from the scourge; and the oft-repeated declarations of those who were "fanatically" attached to his teachings should have saved them from the infliction of the colonial system. They, like him, appealed to Cæsar; and if his ear had not been poisoned, when they had forced their way to his throne, far less would have been written against either their religion or their politics. The historian, who says, that, in a

synod of New England churches, "Vane, the younger,* learned the arts of low intrigue, of mean dissimulation, which he not long after practised on a greater stage"; who speaks of "recitals of Scriptural jargon," of "pious arts," of "profound hypocrisy," as applicable to these churches, pastors, or people, is unfaithful to his duty, and careless of his fame. The Puritans were stern and severe, and so were most persons of their time; but distempered separatists in the beginning, or a community of canting, ambitious hypocrites afterwards, they were not.

In speaking farther of the settlers of Plymouth, he calls them "Brownists," and avers that their "unsociable religion, which cannot easily be described, promoted altercation and excluded emigrants." Annalists favorable to New England seldom fall into the error of saying, that the Puritans who fled from England to Holland, and thence embarked for America, were followers of Robert Brown. The principles of that sectary were quite different in many particulars from those embraced by the flock of Mr. Robinson; and finally Brown himself abandoned them, and returned to the bosom of the church from which he had seceded. The class of dissenters, known in the early period of separation as "Independents," is that to which the Pilgrim fathers distinctly belonged; and we regret, that, among the writers who have not preserved the distinction that relieves them from the odium of opinions and practices highly reprehensible, is Judge Marshall.

"Meanwhile a new race of men appeared in America, whose peculiar principles will be found, when traced through all their various effects, to have entailed on the colonies numberless woes, on the parent country the most perplexing embarrassments.

"The example of the Brownists of New Plymouth, whose persevering diligence had conquered difficulties, inflamed the spirit of adventure, by teaching men to despise disease and death, when they propagated their tenets or sought for gain. And zealots associated to plant the gospel in New England, at a

* Many of our own writers are unjust to Sir Henry Vane. It is the opinion of so competent a judge as the late Sir James Mackintosh, that he was one of the most profound thinkers who ever lived, and scarcely inferior to Bacon. His life, by the Rev. Charles W. Upham, in Sparks's *American Biography*, is an admirable production, and has done much towards disseminating correct views of his real character and merits.

time when many minds were filled with religious fury or political Puritanism. Having determined to transfer to others what they could not plant themselves, the great Plymouth Company granted a considerable tract of that country, which they had been unable to people, in which they could not even possess their envied monopoly, because they had found the fishers sturdy men when invigorated by the support of Parliament. And, in March, 1627 – 8, they readily conveyed to Rosewell and his associates an extensive territory lying around Massachusetts Bay, with such powers of government as they could communicate to others. Urged by their zeal, this association soon detached Endicott thither as their agent, with a few planters and servants, in order to form a settlement, which acquired its name from the arm of the sea whereon it was placed; 'where non-conformists might enjoy the liberty of their own persuasion.'" — Vol. I., pp. 39, 40.

The people of the North "entailed no woes" upon their fellow-subjects in America; they involved England in no "perplexing embarrassments." But the mother country, by continual interference with their industry, wore out their power of endurance. Taunted, in the spirit of the work before us, for a century and a half, with the heresy of their faith, and impeded in all their enterprises ever after the death of Cromwell, they invoked the sympathy of their Colonial brethren whose religion and pursuits were favored objects of her regard; and when their joint appeals to her justice and magnanimity failed to shake her purposes, then, by the union of counsel, arms, and effort, all the Colonies together broke from her dominion. If the war of the Revolution had its origin in a long course of aggression upon the rights of the North, its successful issue was due in some measure to the more meritorious, because more disinterested, exertions of the South. If the "peculiar principles" of New England, which our author so frequently and bitterly reproaches as the causes of all imaginable ills, were gradually diffused throughout the country, so that Episcopal and monarchical Virginia at last furnished a commander for the Puritan and republican soldiers of Massachusetts, we are led to infer, that the wrongs which united men of such different characters and pursuits were far too deep and grave to be excused or extenuated; and therefore, that the book before us, able, earnest, and honest, as we concede it to be, is an utter failure for all the purposes for which it was designed. War is ever a

sad event; and it is especially sad, and humanity and Christianity are doubly grieved, whenever it is waged between brethren. The contest between England and her Colonies should not have happened. The mother should have arranged terms of separation from her children in peace and kindness. A simple treaty, stipulating for commercial advantages for a term of years, would have secured to her every thing that she desired, or could have obtained by a continuance of the connection. The errors of the past cannot be mentioned too often; for it is by the remembrance of them that wisdom is gained to direct communities for the future.

"We must carefully distinguish between the emigrants of 1620 and those of 1630, if we would form an accurate judgment of the founders of New England. In one characteristic, indeed, they both agreed, as they were all Puritans of the most rigid kind. The settlers of New Plymouth appear to have been men of great zeal with little knowledge, who exerted an industry and perseverance prompted by their indigence.

"The principal planters of Massachusetts were English country-gentlemen of no inconsiderable fortunes; of enlarged understandings, improved by liberal education; of extensive ambition, concealed under the appearance of religious humility. The ecclesiastics of the first were at once ignorant and enthusiastic. The clergy of the second, having derived their scholastic knowledge from Oxford and from Cambridge, possessed rather more than a competent share of learning, which they did not, however, bequeath to their successors: and, having found objections to the church of England, of which they had been members, in the innovations of the age, endeavoured to discover the truth in every extreme. The savage vulgarity of both classes gave them considerable influence over the minds of the multitude; whose manners they formed, whose inclinations they directed, to that love of equality, that impatience of restraint, which strangers in after times attributed to a 'levelling principle.' And to this source may be traced up the genuine causes of the various events of their annals; of those that are already past, of those that are yet to be mentioned." — Vol. I., pp. 57, 58.

And this was meant to convey to posterity a correct account of those who came to found New England! The settlers of Plymouth were not, as is here asserted, persons of "little knowledge." Brewster, who was educated at an English University, who was remarkably well versed in the

ancient languages, and who had been the friend and counsellor of a favorite minister of Elizabeth, was certainly an accomplished man. Governor Bradford was a writer of merit, and a proficient in the Dutch, French, Greek, Latin, and Hebrew languages, while his acquirements in history, politics, and philosophy were very respectable. Edward Winslow possessed rare qualifications as a statesman, and his literary productions are still consulted with pleasure. Fuller was regularly bred to the practice of medicine, and was distinguished for professional knowledge and skill. Allerton was an intelligent and active merchant, and was often intrusted with public business of great importance to the Colony. These names are quite sufficient to repel the imputation ; but others could be added, were it necessary.

It is next asserted, that the "ecclesiastics were at once ignorant and enthusiastic." Their enthusiasm we shall not undertake to deny ; but we are by no means disposed to admit that they were deficient in learning. Among the clergy of the infant Colony were Smith, Roger Williams, Lathrop, Norton, and Patridge, all of whom, the first excepted, were educated at one of the ancient seats of English learning. From Plymouth, also, were Dunster and Chauncy, the first and second presidents of Harvard University, both of whom filled the station with usefulness and honor. It was the privilege of the former to direct and mature the opening mind of Sir George Downing, whose part in devising the celebrated Navigation Act will insure perpetual mention of his name, either for praise or censure, in the commercial annals of the world. Of Chauncy it may be remarked, that he had been Professor of Greek and Hebrew at Cambridge in England, and had enjoyed the most intimate relations with Usher, who is said to have been "the first scholar in Europe." In truth, the only ignorant clergyman in the Colony, whom we have ever heard of, was dismissed on account of his deficiencies.

As it is conceded, that the pastoral care of the churches of Massachusetts, within its ancient limits, did not devolve upon ignorant teachers, we need make no inquiry into this part of the subject ; but as the clergymen of both Colonies are accused of "savage vulgarity," it may be worth while to say a word about their character and manners. Wilson, the first minister of Boston, was the relative of an archbishop,

and as he was "chaplain in several honorable families" while in England, his manners were probably formed among gentlemen. The harsh language of Chalmers is ill-suited to describe the mild Cotton, the Melancthon of the New World; or the heavenly-minded Hooker, the grave and pure Higginson, the apostolic John Eliot, or the first of the Mathers. Its application would be wholly unjust to Bulkley, Sherman, the Allens, Rogers, and many other clergymen who accompanied the early emigrants. It would be very remarkable, if so many Englishmen, trained at the best institutions of the realm, most of them being of gentle parentage, who were in holy orders, and had mingled in polished society, had been persons of bad breeding. Chalmers's censure would not be just, even if it were written of Hugh Peters, the most exceptionable of them all.

Shute came out to Massachusetts, charged by Addison, who was then a minister of state, "to suffer no publications, nor even the existence of a printing-press, without his license"; but the printers of Boston paid but little heed to the command, and after an ineffectual attempt to restrain them, the contest was given up by the officers of the crown. Chalmers thus announces the fact.

"It is from the year 1719, that we ought to date the freedom of the press; which, thenceforth, poured forth its libels, numerous and virulent, in proportion to the late restraint, without distributing, as an antidote, the productions of genius or the warnings of morality." — Vol. II., p. 20.

This passage begins in error, and ends in a lamentable perversion of truth. The press did not become free at the period stated, nor for a considerable time afterwards. In the early part of 1719, it was deemed necessary to obtain license from Shute to publish a pamphlet upon the very harmless subject of providing Boston with market-houses, of which the town was then destitute;* while censorship of the newspapers continued to be enforced so rigidly, that, four years after, matter intended for publication in them was required to be examined by the Colonial secretary. Though no particular officer may have been charged with the duty of supervision later than the year 1730, a publisher was sent to

* Dr. Colman published a sermon on the reasons for a market in Boston, in 1719.

prison in 1754, upon suspicion of having printed remarks derogatory to some members of the Colonial government.* About the year last mentioned, as the Bible could not be lawfully printed here, an edition of it — the first one published in America in the vernacular tongue — was privately put forth from an office in "Prison Lane"; † it bore the London imprint, and a close resemblance to one of the editions published by the favored printers "at home," who enjoyed a monopoly by patent from the crown.

Of a far graver character is the statement which concludes the paragraph. We deny its correctness, and aver that the ante-revolutionary press of Massachusetts was not licentious, but, on the contrary, that it was remarkably pure. It is true, that, "in proportion to the late restraint," it did pour forth sermons and essays in great profusion; and it is true, also, that, for the half century preceding the controversies which terminated in dismembering the British empire, the number of publications upon various subjects in Massachusetts was nearly equal to the whole number ever issued in any of the other Colonies. But as the habit of obtaining books from England could not be suddenly changed upon the breaking down of an odious ordinance, as adequate supplies of paper and types of domestic manufacture could not be had, and as the printers were generally too poor to import the materials necessary for executing large and expensive works, few of this sort were published. But since there was certainly one edition of the Scriptures complete, and one or more of the New Testament separately, one of the Psalter of thirty

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* It may not be without interest to show what was thought of the freedom of the newspaper press thirty or forty years ago. In February, 1812, the attorney-general and solicitor-general of Massachusetts state, in an official report to Governor Gerry, that, in their judgment, there had appeared in the Boston papers, since the preceding 1st of June, no less than *two hundred and fifty-three libellous articles;* to wit, in *The Scourge*, 99; *The Centinel*, 51; *The Repertory*, 34; *The Gazette* 33; *The Palladium*, 18; *The Messenger*, 1; *The Chronicle*, 8; and *The Patriot*, 9; while in *The Yankee* there had been none. The dates of the papers are given, and the libellous matter is divided into two kinds; that in which the truth could be, and that in which it could not be, given in evidence to justify the party accused. These law officers state, moreover, that their examinations had not embraced complete files of all of these prints; that they had not included in their list calumnious publications against foreign governments or distinguished foreigners, or libels of the editorial brethren against each other. It appears that the inquiry was instituted at his Excellency's request.

† Court Street.

thousand copies, a number of the versifications of Watts and other psalmists, and a variety of books for schools and for the improvement of youth, most men will agree with us in believing, that something was done to diffuse both "the productions of genius" and "the warnings of morality."

And further; our stanch loyalist, in his desire to inflict a blow upon his political foes, wounds those of his own party. We could not expect him to praise Dummer's defence of the New England charters; nor the essays of Cooke, who led the "levellers" until he was worn out and broken down with the toils and anxieties of his position; nor the later writings of Otis, Quincy, Oxenbridge Thacher, Chauncy, and Cooper; but we might have looked for some favorable notice of the labors of Hutchinson, Auchmuty, and other writers of the same class. Within the period of which he speaks, there were in New England upwards of one hundred and forty authors on subjects of theology, history, science, and politics, of whom the greater part belonged to Massachusetts. A large majority of them were clergymen of distinguished talents and learning. As Cutler, Hooper, Apthorp, and others of Episcopal ordination, whose discourses or disquisitions are preserved, were among them, a less prejudiced writer would have made a more liberal and a more truthful record.

The remarks of Chalmers upon the expedition against Cape Breton are too long to be transferred entire to our pages. Their general tone, however, may be inferred from the extracts which follow. We ought to say, that, unlike some other writers of the time, he does not claim the whole glory of success for the British fleet that coöperated with the land forces of the Colonists.

"Three thousand volunteers were easily raised, since they were promised the plunder; and the aid of the other colonies was, meanwhile, asked, because they were all equal interested in an enterprise which offered equally security to all. Pepperell, a respectable merchant, who had courted fortune with too much diligence to find leisure to study the art of war, who, by the probity of his dealings, had, however, acquired popularity among his countrymen, was appointed commander-in-chief. Every colony which sent a quota of troops gave him a separate commission, because all were equally independent and neither was supreme.

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"In April, 1745, Pepperell arrived before Louisburg, whose fortifications were mouldering into dust, whose defenders were mutinous for want of pay. He was aided by an English fleet under Warren, whose early blunders were covered by ultimate triumph. Pepperell gave a lesson to officers regularly bred to the profession of arms, by attacking the defences where they were least able to resist, without any technical delays or any of the refinements of art. And pressed by assaults, vigorous yet tumultuary, the garrison capitulated, when they saw the numbers of their assailants daily increase at the same time that their own resources were cut off by the capture of their ships within sight of the ramparts. But difficulties occurred during this happy moment which seem not to have been foreseen, though they naturally sprang out of the defects of a jurisdiction unequal to the object. Whether the keys should be delivered to Pepperell or to Warren, whether the general or the admiral was entitled to command, were questions which their prudence easily resolved into compromise. And both received the signs of submission and each alternately issued his orders. Disappointed as to the promised plunder, the New-English soldiers proposed to divide the country among themselves, as the sailors exercised the exclusive privilege of despoiling the Spaniards. With arms in their hands, it was not easy to prevent their purposes, since, from their fathers, they had learned to yield little reverence to authority.

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"Knowles, who succeeded Warren as governor, remarked to the Duke, in July, 1746, 'that the first accounts received by your Grace of the strength and importance of Louisburg were written while success warmed the breast, and then zeal is apt to run into enthusiasm'; that, owing to the continuance of fogs and the frosts, the labor of twenty years and the expense of a million would not put the works in a defensible state of repair against a vigorous attack. The conquerors carefully published to the world the advantages and the glory of the conquest, while the honest remonstrances of Knowles were carefully concealed by those who hoped for fame from the actions of others. And the nation was taught to rejoice at an event that seemed to give a momentary lustre to the most unsuccessful of wars."— Vol. II., pp. 238–241.

As the circumstances which attended the fall of the strongest fortress in America are so familiar to all readers of our annals, we shall stop to make but few remarks upon these extracts. Its capture, as several English writers admit, gave England favorable terms of peace, though our author evi-

dently regards it as of little consequence. His account appears both unsatisfactory and unfair. It was new to us, that the fortifications were in a ruinous condition before the siege. Pepperell and Warren, in their joint despatch to the minister, represent them as being "very strong," and as having exceeded "their most extended apprehensions." Whether Knowles spoke the exact truth respecting their dilapidated state in 1746 is immaterial; because the nine thousand cannon-balls and six hundred bombs, which were fired into them during the forty-nine days occupied in the siege, in 1745, probably did them some injury; and shattered masonry, exposed to the weather for a whole year, does not improve in appearance or strength. We never heard that the soldiery were promised "the plunder," or that Louisburg contained any "Spaniards" to be plundered. The official papers of Shirley, Pepperell, and Warren make no mention of such a promise made or broken; and as Cape Breton was a French colony, it may be supposed that its capital city was inhabited by Frenchmen.

"And to the New-English was repaid the expense of the capture, amounting to £ 183,649, in order to encourage their future efforts, as they had convinced the world of their power. But it was only remarked by the few, that it was of little consequence to the state whether her battles were fought by the Swiss or the Hessians, by the Russians or Americans, if she paid for their services as mercenaries, rather than received their contributions as subjects." — Vol. II., p. 241.

"To the colonies, who had now learned to barter their services for gold, Britain repaid the fruitless expense, amounting to £ 235,817; which enriched them in the same proportion that it impoverished her." — p. 244.

"The parliament granted to this colony, as its share of reimbursement for the capture of Cape Breton, £ 183,000 of real money, which probably was a greater sum than Massachusetts had spent of real wealth during the war." — p. 246.

"The New-English alone, of all the colonists, appear to have engaged in the contest with zeal, because they had learned to enrich themselves by exchanging their military services for substantial gold; by acting as the mercenaries rather than the subjects of a great empire." — p. 253.

The expedition against Louisburg was a crusade. The eloquent Whitefield furnished the motto for the flag, many

of his disciples enlisted under it, and a strong religious zeal was universally awakened in behalf of the undertaking. It was the boldest and most successful enterprise mentioned in our Colonial history, and there is not a particle of evidence to show, that it was projected from the desire of pecuniary reward. True, the amount expended was reimbursed ; and why should it not have been, when England, for equivalents in Europe of no possible benefit to the Colonies, restored the city and the island on which it was situated to France, its former possessor ? But whoever is led, from the passages which we have quoted, to suppose that the "reimbursement" was promptly and willingly made, may learn what delays and difficulties were encountered in prosecuting the claim from the correspondence of Bollan, the agent of Massachusetts. The sum at length obtained was considerable ; but the retention of Cape Breton by England would have been of far more consequence to the maritime Colonies than was the amount which they received for its conquest ; nor did they ever recover from the dissatisfaction which its restoration caused.

"In December, 1722, Shute departed suddenly for England, because, knowing that the numbers and the virulence of his enemies increased, he feared for his personal safety. That they should have forced from his station a governor, whose religion was congenial with their own, whose talents were unequal to any purpose of encroachment, whose moderation was satisfied with a petty and precarious maintenance, is a singular proof of their principles. He was one of those well-meaning men, who in private life gain some respect because they are harmless ; but he possessed not even the minute diligence which enables men of little parts to transact great affairs ; and the Board of Trade repeatedly threatened to lay his neglectful conduct before the king, since they received from the newspapers the earliest and best accounts of his province. He had scarcely departed, when the representatives, in characteristic language, declared, 'that they were not conscious of having given any cause for the governor's withdrawing in this unheard-of way.' And they prepared, by their agents, to make a vigorous defence against the accusations, which they knew it was his purpose to lay before their common sovereign." — Vol. II., pp. 25, 26.

The political contests of Shute's time were more bitter, probably, than any which occurred before the administra-

tion of Bernard. The two great subjects of dispute related to a fixed salary for the chief magistrate, and to the pine-trees reserved by the charter for the use of the royal navy ; * but our limits will not allow us to consider either. We avail ourselves of this passage only to notice generally the blindness of our author to the real causes of Colonial complaints. He seldom seems to have considered, that the royal governors were intrusted with the execution of commands which the Colonists regarded as infringing their most important rights, and that this circumstance sufficiently explains many of the long and bitter controversies which arose between them. Nor does he appear to have attached due weight to the fact, that another cause of dissatisfaction might be found in the conduct, character, or qualifications of the governors themselves. He admits, in a preceding passage, that Shute's "natural imbecility," and other reasons, disqualified him for the station to which he was appointed, and the same admission is substantially repeated in the extract before us ; but he still finds the causes of this governor's discomfiture in the "principles" of the people whom he was sent to govern.

Chalmers would have had the Colonists respect and obey the representatives of the king, even if they were madmen or fools. In his judgment, contempt for the servants of the crown was proof of contempt for the crown itself. In the struggles of the popular assemblies against the will of arbitrary functionaries, as we have already remarked, he often saw designs of independence. But, by his own account, it is evident that many who were intrusted with the performance of executive duties were entirely incompetent for their office, either from deficiency of talent, defects of temper, or want of knowledge of Colonial affairs. Thus, Schuyler, in his opinion, was a well meaning man, but of small intellect ; Montgomery had neither mental vigor nor bodily activity ; Cosby was violent, self-willed, and committed great public wrongs on the most frivolous pretexts. He says that the predecessors of Spotswood, in Virginia, were destitute of qualifications for their office, and that Drysdale, the successor of Spotswood, was a weak and inferior officer. The elevation of a miller to the dignity of lieutenant-governor of

* Some account of the disputes under the second head may be found in an article on "The Forest Lands and Timber Trade of Maine," *N. A. Review*, Vol. LVIII., p. 299.

New Hampshire, as he considers, was a continuance of the careless and feeble policy which had formerly conferred the same honor on a carpenter. He denies to Everard the possession of either talents or virtue, and accuses Barrington of having shown neither honesty nor ability. Hardy and Clinton were both seamen, and men of ordinary minds, while the former was deficient in discretion. Sothell practised every crime ; Gooken was weak ; Keith, artful and faithless ; and Gordon, old and imbecile. Such rulers, not to mention others who might be added, and without including those of the revolutionary era, show that sufficient reasons for discontent and violent altercations existed, independent of the principles of the Colonists. Chalmers quotes the remark, as a shrewd saying, that " the proprietary governor has two masters ; one who gives him his commission, and one who gives him his pay ; and he is, therefore, on his good behaviour to both." Some of these dignitaries, we suspect, cared very little for either of their two masters ; and he who remarked, that they had *three* things to attend to, " First to fleece the people for the king, then for themselves, and lastly for the proprietaries their employers," told more truth, and had more wit, than the person cited by our well informed but strongly prejudiced annalist.

" In November, 1724, the ship-carpenters of the river Thames complained to their sovereign, ' that their trade was hurt, and their workmen emigrated, since so many vessels were built in New England.' West, the truly judicious and candid counsel of the Board of Trade, gave it as his opinion, ' that, though their grievance may be well founded, they might as well complain of ship-building at Bristol, because the acts of navigation had declared the plantation-built ships should be deemed English.' Yet the honest carpenters were wronged, though they could not explain how. Their injury resulted from a circumstance illegal and unjust ; that the ships of the Chesapeake, the Delaware, and Massachusetts were respected in the Thames as British, while the river-built vessels were regarded in Massachusetts, in the Delaware, and in the Chesapeake, as foreign. The Board reported, what ought to have roused the ministers of a naval nation, ' that they had good reason to believe the number of shipwrights in Britain had diminished one half since 1710 ; owing to the great number of ships annually built in the plantations, which being sold cheaper, few ships are now contracted for here ;' and, considering the importance of so useful a body of

men, they proposed, as the least exceptionable expedient, to lay a duty of five shillings the ton on plantation-built ships employed in the foreign trade of England." — Vol. II., pp. 33, 34.

The jealousy here spoken of existed half a century earlier; and Child, the great commercial authority of his time, pointed out the dangers to be apprehended from the growth of Colonial shipping in 1670. But as we propose to consider this subject in another place, we notice this passage merely to say, that the project of taxing "plantation-built ships" has been revived quite lately. There appears to be a strong party in England favorable to the measure, and the design is urged with no little zeal, as the best means of preventing the unwelcome competition of the ships of the North American Colonies with those built in the British isles. The evil consequences of attempting to interfere with the maritime enterprise of Massachusetts and the other Northern Colonies, a century ago, would be sufficient, we think, were there no other reasons, to prevent the adoption of the plan. The relations of England with her possessions on this continent are not of that close and amicable nature, at the present time, which would make taxation safe in any form, and least of all would a tax upon ships be submitted to without earnest and angry complaints. The Colonists are already sufficiently aggrieved, they imagine, with the long continued endeavours to exclude their vessels from the best employments, on account of alleged inferiority of material, construction, and equipment. We invite the attention of the ship-owners of the United States to this and every similar proposal calculated to affect their interests. Every Colonial ship excluded from the ports of England is likely to seek an American cotton-mart, or otherwise interfere with our own vessels in the carriage of our products.

"Observing that the New-English, blessed with no native staple, carried on a circuitous commerce, by transporting to foreign nations the tobacco of the continent and the sugar and dyeing-woods of the islands, the parliament [in 1672], partly in order to check that disadvantageous traffic, but more to subject the colonists to the same duties which British residents had long been compelled to pay, imposed various taxes on the export of such commodities as the plantations then only produced. Placed under the superintendence of the treasury, those duties were directed to be levied in the colonies by the same officers, under the

same power as the customs were already collected in England. The Restoration having put a period to every term of exemption, the acts of tonnage and poundage having never been enforced in America, the present measure formed the seed-plot, on which was raised the subsequent system of colonial revenue; which, however, grew up stunted and unpromising, because its progress was obstructed, since the law was eluded.

"The governors had been the most early custom-house officers. Though they were paid, however, specific salaries for executing the laws of navigation, they acted feebly, perhaps dishonestly, since the Privy Council threatened them with punishment, not for acting weakly, but for acting wrong. Regular custom-houses were not long after erected successively in the colonies, though not on the extensive plan of modern times. The revenue officers were received, in different provinces, with kindness or with opposition, as the provincial principles led them to regard England with reverence or with jealousy. The assemblies of Virginia and of Maryland recognized 'the collectors' as legal officers; distinguishing between 'country dues and parliamentary customs.' But we shall find the collector opposed in New England with every circumstance of cunning and force. From that period there has existed, in colonial policy, a twofold collection of taxes on imports and exports; the provincial duties, established by the assemblies, and collected by the naval officers; the subsidies, granted by Parliament, and levied by the collectors. What can be more remarkable, than the rapid progress with which the commerce of the plantations has advanced to real greatness! Nothing can be more striking than the fact, that, though customs have, from time to time, been imposed on their traffic in its exaltation, the income arising from them did not, at the expiration of a century from the introduction of custom-house officers, amount to more than three-and-thirty thousand pounds. The year 1676 may be regarded as the epoch when the collectors of revenue were first sent thither under parliamentary sanction.* In 1776, they were formally expelled by a body of men, who regarded themselves as the representatives of the colonists, convened in a congress." — Vol. I., pp. 125 – 127.

Having, on a former occasion,† expressed our conviction, that the Navigation Act, and the laws of trade, which were a part of the system it was meant to enforce, contained the germ of the American Revolution, we do not propose to

* "The colonial income, arising from that system of finance, yielded, in 1677, £803. 2*s.* 8*d.*"

† *N. A. Review*, Vol. LVII., p. 293.

discuss that subject now. But we wish to show more fully than Chalmers has done how abortive was the effort to fasten that system upon the Colonies, even in the days of their infancy and weakness. Colonial commerce was originally free; and Massachusetts, foremost in all maritime enterprises, not only traversed the ocean at will, but established a plan of revenue, appointed a collector of her customs, and exacted fees of vessels arriving at her ports. She also entered into an arrangement for commercial intercourse with Canada, or New France. And it is worthy of remark, that her policy, thus early developed, recognized the great principle of discrimination among the articles to be taxed, which formed the basis of our system at the organization of the present national government. The trade of Connecticut, New Hampshire, and Rhode Island was small; though, from a letter of Roger Williams, it appears, that it was designed to send a ship from the latter Colony to the East Indies. New England generally was not prepared to receive or obey any statute that should restrain her adventures upon the sea. When the collector arrived at Boston, he found the merchants there engaged in an extensive business, much of which, by the recent enactments, had become contraband, and it was, therefore, his duty to suppress it. They had dealings with Spain, France, Portugal, Holland, the Canaries, and even with Guinea and Madagascar, and they had accumulated considerable wealth. Josselyn, who was in Massachusetts a few years before the arrival of Randolph, the custom-house officer appointed for the North, says, that some merchants were "damnable rich"; and Dunton, who followed him about twenty years afterwards, speaks of a lady who came over from England, "with the valuable venture of her beautiful person, which went off at an extraordinary rate, she marrying a merchant in Salem worth nearly thirty thousand pound." Between the visits of these quaint chroniclers, the commissioners of Charles had come on their inglorious errand, and they made report of the general wealth of the Colony acquired by trade.

A commercial spirit existed elsewhere; and as every Colony had some share in the traffic which was to be checked, or, if possible, to be entirely broken up, none were disposed to submit quietly to the measures which were meant to effect either of these purposes. It is true, as is stated in the ex-

tract, that "the assemblies of Virginia and Maryland recognized the collectors as legal officers"; but difficulties arose in both Colonies, though neither of them possessed a considerable town or mart of trade. In the former, earnest complaints were made against the Act of Navigation, and the restraints imposed upon commerce generally. In Bacon's harangues to the people, these topics were not forgotten; and one of the objects to be gained by those who followed him into open rebellion was to "build ships, and, like New England, to trade to any part of the world." Towards the close of the century, seven collectors and naval-officers, all of whom were members of Andros's council, were found stationed in different parts of the Colony, and, in form at least, the Navigation Act and the kindred laws were afterwards observed. But though the declaration, that Virginia had long acquiesced in the acts restrictive of her commerce, occurs in her instructions to her delegates to the first Continental Congress, it may well be doubted whether the submission was more than nominal, or much as it was in other Colonies; since there is evidence to show that many of the king's revenue-officers were great traffickers, and were as unscrupulous as others who bought, sold, and shipped commodities. So in Maryland, there was a strenuous opposition to the establishment of a custom-house and the presence of a collector, whereby Lord Baltimore was involved in great difficulties, and his chartered rights were endangered. During the controversy, Rousby, the collector, was killed.

In North Carolina, the attempt to promote a more lawful trade, and the dispute with a New England trader as to the entry of his vessel and the payment of the king's duties, was one of the causes of an insurrection, which resulted in deposing and imprisoning Miller, the collector. In South Carolina, illicit traffic continued to be carried on, notwithstanding the presence and exertions of Muschamp, the royal officer of the customs; and opposition to his authority caused much tumult and disorder. In New York, Dyer, the Duke of York's collector, was indicted for performing his official duty; and the rebellion a few years afterwards, promoted by Leisler, — a wealthy merchant, who owned ships which he sent to Europe, and who lost his life, on the restoration of the lawful government, for the part he had taken in subverting it, — originated partly in the disputes that arose with the

principal officers of the revenue. In New Jersey, the collector was thwarted by the people who formed the juries, when prosecutions were commenced against smugglers; while the quarrels between the officers of that Colony and of New York, as to the right of entering and clearing vessels, added to the disturbances, and the seizures and condemnations which followed, produced great commotion.

In New England, the royal collector, surveyor, and searcher, as Randolph was called, encountered obstacles that would have subdued the spirit of any other man. Determined upon success, he made eight voyages to America during the nine years which connect his name with our subject. His instructions were dated from the "Custom-house, London, July 9, 1678," and affixed to them are the signatures of Ed. Dering, Ch. Cheyne, and G. Downing. These instructions were long and tediously minute, being arranged under nineteen distinct heads. They were evidently framed by one who was thoroughly acquainted with the course of Colonial trade, and perhaps by Downing himself. The offences for which ships and cargoes might be seized were very numerous. He was furnished with a number of documents, copies of which were probably given to all officers engaged in the same business with himself. Among these papers were the "Act of Tonnage and Poundage," the "Act of Navigation," that for "preventing Fraud," for "Encouragement of Trade," for "The better regulating the Plantation Trade," and for "The better securing the Plantation Trade. He was directed, moreover, to settle his "vsual residence in the port of Boston, in Massachusetts Colonye," and to appoint one deputy at least in the "Colonyes of Plymouth, Connecticut, Rhode Island, the Province of Mayne, and New Hampshire."

Such was the mission of the first royal officer of the customs who appeared among the Roundheads of Boston. He was a doomed man before his arrival. The vessels which were seized by him and his deputies were rescued; the subordinates were fined by the Colonial courts for their officious zeal; and the principal, after enduring every indignity, was at last imprisoned. In a letter to Lord Clarendon, written from Boston, in 1682, he says, "I humbly beseech your Lordship, that I may have consideration for all my losses and money laid out in prosecuting seizures here." The same

year, he wrote to the Bishop of London : "I have a great fammyly to mayntayne, have had great losses and expences about his Majesties service here." To a Mr. Povey, in 1687, he says : "I am at 50 £ a year charge to keep an able clerke, and cannot get any fees settled sufficient to pay that charge." In a letter dated from the "Gaol in Boston," to the governor of Barbadoes, he thus writes : "The countrey is poor, the exact execution of the acts of trade hath much impoverished them : *all the blame lyes upon me, who first attacked and then overthrew their charter*, and was made the officer to continue their Egyptian servitude, by my office of collector." Again, and from his dungeon, he implored Cooke, his old enemy, to take from his apartment a wounded fellow-prisoner, whose sores had become insupportably offensive. The commercial orders of Sir Edmund Andros, who was sent to govern New England after the charter of Massachusetts was vacated, were as rigid as those of Randolph. He was deposed, and then the attempt rigidly to enforce these orders ended.

Such was the result of the *first* effort to fasten the Navigation Act and the Laws of Trade upon the American Colonies. It was hoped that the second attempt, made nearly a century afterwards, would be more successful ; but it terminated more disastrously than the former one. Separation from the mother country would have followed the one as certainly as it did the other, if there had been the same strength and concert, the same deeply seated irritation, caused by often repeated and long continued wrongs, and the same aid from the state of English and European politics. There never was a period, early or late, when the maritime Colonies would have submitted willingly to the requirements of these statutes, or when their influence would not have caused opposition to them to be made in the other Colonies. Whoever carefully traces the course of events for the fifteen years immediately following 1676 will discover a most striking resemblance to those which occurred between 1761 and the commencement of hostilities. The periods of the introduction and the expulsion of royal collectors of the customs are alike memorable epochs in our annals.

After narrating at some length the events which preceded the war between England and Spain, in 1739, Chalmers says, that the object of the war was "partly to avenge the

supposed depredations of Spain, but more to protect Georgia from invasion, and to establish for Carolina a barrier." * Reverse the statement, and we come much nearer to the truth; a writer who so frequently and severely condemns the illicit traffic of the Northern Colonies should have given the causes and objects of this war more accurately. The fact was, British subjects carried on an extensive contraband trade with the Spanish possessions, which Spain earnestly insisted upon checking or wholly suppressing. In the effort, it was alleged, she interrupted not only the unlawful commerce of British merchants, but that also which was legal; and from this dispute principally, if not entirely, originated the appeal to arms. The desire to protect Georgia and to establish for Carolina a barrier was hardly among the leading pretexts for hostile measures, and had little or no share in really producing them. If British smugglers had not been molested, peace would have been preserved. The war was alike unnecessary and dishonorable.

We here conclude our hasty comments upon the work of this zealous friend and supporter of the prerogative, with commending it to our readers as well worthy of perusal, and even of diligent study. We cannot learn too much of American history; and the publication of works relating to it, which contain original and valuable materials, ought to be encouraged, though, as in the present case, they also contain sentiments that are illiberal and unjust. It is only by reading both sides of the controversy which severed us from the parent stock, that the real issues can be certainly and fully ascertained. As this history ends with the reign of George the Second, the question as to the origin and effects of the agreements of non-importation, of the committees of correspondence, and of the Continental Congress, which were the three great engines that were used to tear up the framework of the Colonial system in the American Colonies, does not fairly come before us for consideration. It was a great disappointment to us, to find that our loyalist writer gives no account of the transactions of the fifteen years which immediately preceded the war. A digest prepared by him of the correspondence of the royal governors of the several Colonies with the ministry during that time would have had great

* Vol. II., p. 185.

interest. But as the writings of the losers in the strife continue to multiply, we may hope that something will appear at a future time to supply the deficiency. Would that each of the representatives of the crown, like Hutchinson, had written out his opinion of the men and measures that he resisted! Cooke of Rhode Island, and Trumbull of Connecticut, were sound Whigs; but with what avidity would the curious inquirer into the things of the past read narratives of the difficulties and embarrassments of Wentworth, Tryon, and Franklin, of Penn, Eden, Dunmore, and Martin, written out by their own hands!

ART. V. — *Theory of Morals: an Inquiry concerning the Law of Moral Distinctions and the Variations and Contradictions of Ethical Codes.* By RICHARD HILDRETH. Boston: Charles C. Little and James Brown. 1844. 12mo. pp. 272.

"SEVERAL of my characters," says the author of "Ten Thousand a Year," "may be looked on as reptiles of a low order in the scale of being, whose simple structures almost one dash of the knife would suffice to lay thoroughly open. Gammon, however, I look upon as of a much higher order, possessing a far more complicated structure, adapted to the discharge of superior functions; and who, consequently, requireth a more careful dissection." The distinction here indicated applies emphatically to bad books. Some need but a single dash of the knife, and are not worth even that; but combine weakness and wickedness in such happy proportions, that the reviewer may safely let them crawl unmolested to oblivion. The book before us is of a higher order; it has many of the properties of a good book; it is grave, decent, dignified, in its tone and manner; it purports to be a truly philosophical work; but its reasoning is all vitiated by the assumption of false premises, and its sober, didactic style is made the vehicle for conveying the most licentious sentiments in morals and theology.

Yet in some quarters this book will do good. The *reductio ad absurdum* is a mode of reasoning no less applicable

to moral than to mathematical science ; and on many moral subjects it furnishes arguments of peculiar cogency. For there are axioms in ethics no less than in geometry ; and there is no surer way of detecting latent fallacy in premises plausibly assumed, than to follow out these premises to legitimate conclusions at variance with established axioms in moral science. Happy is it for the public, when the advocate of a false theory of morals does this work himself, and thus comprises within the covers of the same book the bane and the antidote. Such has been the fair, open, honest course pursued by Mr. Hildreth. He has fearlessly carried out his principles, has exhibited their application to the details of domestic and social life, and has engrafted upon them a code of practical morals, which, were he to embody it in actual conduct, would soon confer upon him the crown of martyrdom at the hands of the hangman. In this way he has rendered the public a very timely service. There are many beardless youths and lisping maidens, and some men and women old enough to know better, who flout at authority in morals, parade their own intuitions and instincts as the sole criterion of right, and vaguely intimate, that laws, which generations of the wise and good have revered as bearing the broad seal of heaven, have become obsolete, or at least must undergo the revision of the nineteenth century, and pass henceforth for what each individual may deem them worth. Our author has most lucidly demonstrated, that those benevolent impulses, which, as he says, alone constitute virtue, permit every unmarried woman to become a prostitute, and forbid not the disappointed man to die by his own hand ; nor will it be easy for the pure-minded and virtuous disciples of the new philosophy to deny these revolting conclusions, unless by admitting the incompetency of man, without divine aid, to discover and mark out for himself the path of virtue. Mr. Hildreth terms his system a " forensic " system of ethics, and with great propriety ; for its general adoption would furnish inexhaustible occupation for the courts of justice. But it is time that we presented an analysis of the book.

Mr. Hildreth commences by setting aside as baseless the leading ethical systems of ancient and modern times, and denying the existence of any intrinsic difference, any essential, immutable distinction, between right and wrong. Actions, as he says, are the only subjects of moral cognizance.

Those actions which give pleasure to others are praiseworthy ; those which give neither pleasure nor pain to others, indifferent ; those which give pain to others, wrong. Virtue is benevolent action ; nor can any classes of actions, which have not reference to our fellow-men, nor yet any sentiments and affections towards them, which do not express themselves in action, proffer a claim to be regarded as virtuous. The discharge of what are called duties to ourselves is virtuous, only because it enables us to be more useful to others. A man is under no obligation to temperance, chastity, or mental or moral self-culture, for his own sake. Nay, insomuch as he governs his appetites and passions, acquires knowledge, and cherishes refining and elevated tastes and pursuits, that he may attain a higher rank in the spiritual universe, may become worthy of self-respect, and may enlarge and exalt his sphere of self-consciousness, he is not virtuous, but selfish. At every stage of mental and moral progress, if he would be virtuous, his efforts and attainments must grow from the sole aim and purpose of becoming a more useful social machine. Religious acts and observances have been, and still are, deemed virtuous by ignorant people, (not by our author,) because God has been "supposed to be, like man, accessible to pain and pleasure, and certain acts of men have been supposed able to give him pleasure and to give him pain."

The only motives to human action are *pains*, either "simple pains," or "pains of desire." "Pains of benevolence" are the only motives to virtue. For these we are indebted to the constitution of human nature. We cannot defend ourselves against them. They will come, and crave relief ; and our efforts to relieve them are the sum and substance of virtue ; so that, after all, benevolence is mere selfishness, and virtue the gratification of an irresistible instinct. The sentiment of benevolence, which, if uncontrolled, would lead constantly to the performance of virtuous actions, is stimulated, restrained, modified, and counteracted by various other emotions. It is necessarily drawn forth towards those from whom we hope enjoyment or benefit ; hence, and hence alone, the love of kindred and friends. It is strongly excited towards those from whom we have received enjoyment or benefit ; hence gratitude. Among the sentiments which modify, either favorably or unfavorably, that of benevolence, Mr.

Hildreth assigns a prominent place to "self-comparison." Hence flow the "pains of inferiority and the pleasures of superiority." To shun the former, to attain the latter, is the great aim of the philanthropist and of every man of eminent virtue. The desire of surpassing others in power, though it may lead to reckless schemes of self-aggrandizement, often allies itself with benevolence, and prompts an individual to show the world how much good he can do. Moreover, virtue or benevolence itself is often made the subject and ground of self-comparison. In this case, an individual is tormented by "pains of inferiority," so long as there exist human beings more virtuous than himself; and he is thus goaded on to the highest achievements of virtue.

In addition to the emotions that modify or control the sentiment of benevolence, there are also "certain qualities or temperaments, called virtues, because they are essential to the performance of beneficial actions." The principal of these are wisdom, courage, fortitude, firmness, hopefulness, activity, and capacity. These qualities are in themselves morally indifferent, nor do the processes by which they are attained or cultivated imply any moral excellence. They may, on the other hand, be combined with malevolence; in which case, they forfeit even a good name, and are designated by terms of reproach.

"Actions, of whatever kind, must originate in mental necessity." Every motive has its determinate and immutable weight; and the conduct of an individual, in any particular instance, depends upon the number and relative weight of the motives at the moment incumbent on him. Moral obligation in the individual derives its standand and its measure from the *net weight* (so to speak) of benevolent motives in his mind, and has no existence where the benevolent impulses are fully counterbalanced by tendencies of an opposite character, even though there exist a full knowledge of right and duty. As regards any given community, the standard of moral obligation is the average benevolence of the community. The duties of the individual are determined by the standard of moral obligation in the community of which he is a member. He who does more than his duty is meritorious, and, by exciting towards himself the benevolence of his neighbours, becomes the subject of reward. Demerit is affirmed of him who does less than his duty; and he thereby

draws down upon himself the malevolence of his neighbours, and thus becomes the subject of punishment.

Such in brief is the "Theory of Morals," drawn out in the *first* part of the work before us, and, in the *second* part, applied to the "solution of moral problems and conciliation of ethical codes." With reference to "rights of personal security," to which the first chapter of the second part relates, we are met by propositions abhorrent from every sentiment of humanity, and in accordance with the morality of the least enlightened nations and ages. The praise of Cato's suicide is endorsed and echoed, for the first time, perhaps, since the days of Seneca; and he who kills himself to escape disgrace or degradation deserves "approbation, admiration, and applause." The "law of honor," the duellist's sanguinary code, is sanctioned by forensic morality; and it is more than intimated, that "there are certain cases in which it is a duty to accept, and even to send, a challenge; and if homicide ensue, it is held to be justifiable." Private revenge, in an imperfectly organized state of society, is beneficial and meritorious; and the executors of Lynch law are to be regarded as public benefactors. Forensic morals have not a word to say against infanticide, whether by the destruction of children before birth, or the exposure or murder of them after birth. Extinction of being is no evil, and may be a benefit, to the child; and parents, when they discern no prospect of honor or happiness for their children, have an undoubted right, nay, in strong cases, may be obliged by sentiments of benevolence, to inflict upon themselves the pain which infanticide must cost them.

Next follows a chapter on the rights of property, in the main faultless, closing with a series of remarks on slavery, which may be taken as a specimen of the author's style and manner, and to the justice of which, the last paragraph excepted, we cordially assent.

The sneer at the Christian Scriptures, at the close of this last paragraph, needs no refutation for the sake of any person conversant with the New Testament; for the doctrine of human brotherhood pervades the entire records of our religion, and the whole system of equal rights and free political institutions has Christianity for its basis. The imputation cast upon the Apostle Paul, as being friendly to slavery, is derived from his epistle to Philemon, in which he commends to his

former master a fugitive slave, "not now as a slave, but above a slave, a brother beloved"; and adds, "If thou count me a partner, receive him as myself." Now, what rabid Abolitionist is there who would not cheerfully send back a fugitive slave to a master to whom he could commit such a charge as this with a good hope of being obeyed?

The next chapter treats of "promises, contracts, and truth in general." Forensic morals, we are told, permit us to deceive or to utter falsehood, whenever it seems probable that more beneficial results will be produced by such a course than by adherence to the truth. The conscious and deliberate utterance of an untruth, when no injury to another can result from it, is represented as a very trivial offence, and, according to Mr. Hildreth's "Theory of Morals," ought not to be reckoned as an offence or a sin, but should be placed among indifferent actions.

We have not space to follow our author through the various practical applications of his theory. With reference to the marriage covenant and the obligation of chastity, his maxims are most offensively loose and licentious. It is truly gratifying to learn, however, in the last chapter of this part, that the science of morals is a progressive science, and has not yet attained its maturity. How far its progress has been aided by the work under discussion, we leave our readers to say.

The third part treats of the "connection between happiness and virtue, and the true means of promoting both." Virtue, we are told, increases the happiness of the community; but it has not necessarily the same effect on the virtuous individual. The sacrifices which a man makes in order to do good often remain uncompensated, while the selfish often live and die happy. There is, therefore, an essential difference between the expedient and the right, and there are very few men for whom it is expedient to be virtuous; for "the greatest amount of moral pleasure" is seldom coincident with "the greatest sum total of all pleasures." Education and the general diffusion of the arts and comforts of civilized life are specified as the two chief means of elevating the standard of morals.

We have thus given a brief and imperfect outline of Mr. Hildreth's positive theories. We have, however, glanced but slightly at the skepticism with regard to all the essential doc-

trines of both natural and revealed religion, which pervades the work. The author is in this respect to be admired for his bold and frank self-consistency. His system of ethics is utterly human and earthly. It has no hold upon a higher sphere or a future state of being. It recognizes no parties except human agents. Did it admit a Deity, it would leave him no place in the moral universe, no function, either authoritative or executive, as regards the moral notions or conduct of men. His existence would be otiant and superfluous. Mr. Hildreth, therefore, acting under Horace's time-honored rule,

> "Nec Deus intersit, nisi dignus vindice nodus
> Inciderit,"

makes an undisguised profession of bald, blank atheism. He ascribes the idea of supernatural existences to men's ignorance of the causes of events and phenomena. Polytheism was the earliest faith. Monotheism has been the result of a skepticism growing out of increased intelligence and a more intimate acquaintance with natural science, and is the intermediate step between religious belief and atheism, the denial of a personal Deity necessarily supervening upon high attainments in wisdom, whether by individuals or by the race. Whether these notions were borrowed directly from Lucretius, we have not the means of ascertaining; but we have been led to suppose that theology cannot be, like morals, "a progressive science," by finding that this last announcement of the newest philosophy was distinctly proclaimed in the "*De Rerum Naturâ*," nineteen centuries ago: —

> "Ignorantia caussarum conferre deorum
> Cogit ad imperium res, et concedere regnum;
> Quorum operum caussas nullâ ratione videre
> Possunt, ac fieri divino numine rentur."

Throughout the work under review, the belief in a personal deity is termed "the mystical hypothesis," and the morality founded on his alleged will or on sentiments of duty to him, "mystical morality"; nor does the author omit a single convenient opportunity of casting ridicule on religious ideas consecrated by the faith of the whole Christian world, and on the ethical systems and maxims of the Old and New Testaments. His sneers are characterized by the grave irony and mock solemnity which both sheathe and point the sting of Voltaire's irreligious sarcasm; and, though Mr. Hildreth has

entered the book in the district clerk's office as all his own, and "claims the right thereof as proprietor," and we are therefore reluctant to dispute his pretensions as a strictly original author, our memory greatly deceives us if some of his most bitter gibes and scoffs were not preëxistent in Voltaire's "Philosophical Dictionary."

We will not undertake to refute, point by point, the "Theory of Morals," of which we have endeavoured to present the outline. Its premises are atheism; its deductions, gross licentiousness; — the former refuted by the common reason of mankind, — the latter repulsed with loathing by the moral sentiment of every true heart. The system hangs well together, is nearly impregnable at intermediate points, and can be attacked only in its God-denying premises, or its soul-destroying deductions; and these we are content to leave to the good sense and right feeling of our readers. But before closing this article, we would say a few words with regard to moral distinctions, the standard of moral obligation, and the mutual relations of law and conscience.

In the first place, right and wrong are not subjective distinctions as regards the individual moral agent, growing out of his peculiar degree of moral knowledge, capacity, or motive. Nor yet are they arbitrary distinctions, created by the legislation of supreme and absolute power. They are intrinsic and essential qualities of actions, — eternal and unchangeable, though the heavens fall. Moral differences necessarily result from the properties and relations of every being and object in the universe. Every being or object must necessarily have its own laws of being, its peculiar adaptations, its native affinities, its appropriate functions or uses, its place and office with reference to other beings and objects. Every intelligent being, in every conscious act, either obeys or violates the inherent laws of his nature, — either recognizes or disowns the relations of his physical or moral being. Hence, every conscious act of such a being bears an essential and immutable moral character, — is in itself right or wrong. True, an action may be wrong, without implying guilt on the part of the wrong-doer; for he may be innocently ignorant of the law which he violates, or the relation which he disowns. Yet his ignorance changes not the moral character of his action. That action has placed him for the time in a false position, has thrown him out of the harmony of the

moral universe, and has also brought upon him inevitably injurious consequences ; for no wrong-doing escapes its appropriate and normal retribution. The difference between the unconscious wrong-doer and him who "knows the right and yet the wrong pursues" is, that the latter, by his infidelity to conscience, violates more and higher laws of his being than the former, and consequently incurs a proportionally heavier retribution. Similar considerations apply to unintelligent objects. They are under the control of intelligent agents, human or divine ; and, with reference to their intrinsic nature and essential relations, they must necessarily, whenever they are the objects of the volition of an intelligent agent, be either used or abused, employed either for appropriate or for inappropriate ends, made either to subserve or to violate their essential laws or relations. Hence, at any given moment, the distinctions of right and wrong may be affirmed of every unintelligent object in the universe, according to the place which it has been made to occupy, and the purposes for which it has been made to serve, by the volitions of intelligent beings. These moral differences may be said, without irreverence, to exist, by an *a priori* necessity, independently of the Deity. They are the law of God. Could we conceive of a being omniscient and omnipotent, but at the same destitute of moral attributes, his decrees and acts would not necessarily be right. Right or wrong, they would indeed be irresistible ; but omnipotence itself could not make wrong right. God's decrees and acts are not right, because they are his ; but they are his because they are right. And with regard to moral precepts emanating from him, his laws do not render certain acts right, and certain others wrong ; by these laws he declares certain acts right, and certain others wrong, because they are so in their very nature.

We are now prepared to inquire, What is man's standard of moral obligation ? Our answer is, — and in giving it we express ourselves with no less philosophical accuracy than religious truth, — *divine revelation.* The laws of all beings, the properties and relations of all objects, are necessarily present to the mind of the infinite Creator, and, so far as they are known by his intelligent offspring, must be communicated to them by him. This communication is made, in part, through the beings and objects themselves. In many

instances, their properties, uses, and ends are written upon them by the Creator with so much distinctness and emphasis, that no intelligent being can overlook or misinterpret them. Up to the point to which beings and objects thus indicate their own laws and relations, God has made a revelation of the moral law through nature, — a revelation no less real, genuine, and divine than if it had been miraculously inscribed on tablets of stone. But there are many beings and objects that do not fully interpret themselves, but are subject to occult laws, and involved in complex, far-reaching, and obscure relations. This is the case with man. He is "fearfully and wonderfully made." His constitution, physical and mental, is a bundle of insoluble enigmas. Left to himself, he ascertains intuitively but few of the laws of his being, learns a few others only by numberless mistakes and failures, and of many knows nothing till he dies. His destiny, if he have any but the grave, is hidden from him by a veil, beyond which he can get only shadowy and doubtful glimpses. His relations are vast and complicated. The influences of his activity extend through an ever-widening circle, and he knows not where they cease to be felt. And, if there be an infinite Creator, and a spiritual world embosoming the material, then is he intimately connected with a sphere of being, of which experience and observation can give him only the most meagre and scanty knowledge. There are a thousand practical questions affecting the daily conduct of life, which man cannot answer for himself, on account of his ignorance of his own true place in the moral universe. Such are the constantly recurring questions between immediate expediency and adherence to general principles, between the seemingly useful and the abstract right, between the conflicting claims of various classes of obligation and duty. "It is not in man that walketh to direct his steps." But, on these laws and relations of his being beyond his own clear cognizance, man can receive the testimony of his Creator, if sufficiently authenticated. And this testimony has, we believe, been tendered to mankind, sealed by miracles that cannot lie. It is given, indeed, in human language; and how else should it have been given? Human language, we are told, is ambiguous, and no revelation couched in it can convey clear, sufficient, and satisfying testimony; — the only true revelation is that made to each individual soul. But, let it be remem-

bered, we think in words, we reason by the use of words, and this inward revelation, when made the subject of our contemplation, assumes a verbal form ; and we know not why there need be any more ambiguity in the words of prophets and apostles, than in those in which our own musings and reflections clothe themselves. With regard to those facts of our being which lie beyond the range of our consciousness and experience, the only question is, as to the authenticity of the testimony, and the character of him from whom it comes. And if we have — as Christians believe that they have — a revelation bearing the broad seal of heaven, to this revelation are we to look for our standard of moral obligation, where the indications of nature suffice not ; and, the law of human life and duty having thus been made fully known, implicit faith and unquestioning obedience are the dictates of sound philosophy no less than of humble piety.

We ask, finally, what is the place and province of conscience or the moral sense ? On this point there is great confusedness of thought and speech. Conscience is often spoken of as an unvarying and universal standard of duty ; and this, notwithstanding the well known fact, that men's ideas of duty differ widely, according to their various degrees and modes of civilization and culture. Conscience, though something more than a mere sense of the difference between right and wrong, is not by any means a standard of moral obligation. It is the power of discriminating between what is right and what is wrong, according to the standard adopted by the individual. It is not a code of laws ; but the tribunal which decides each separate case according to law and evidence. It discharges not the legislative, but the judicial function. Nor are its decisions necessarily in accordance with abstract right, unless its statute-book be that promulgated by the Supreme Lawgiver. It never makes a relatively wrong decision ; it always interprets aright the law according to which it professes to give judgment ; but its decisions are to be trusted only when it makes divine revelation, written or unwritten, its standard. Hence we see that there is a wide, often a world-wide, difference between conscientious conduct and right conduct. Nor do the conflicting decisions of conscience, viewed in this aspect, present any valid objection against either the immutableness of moral distinctions, or the sufficiency of conscience for its true place and office in the human microcosm.

Art. VI. — *Bibliothek des Literarischen Vereins in Stuttgart.* Siebente Publication. *Des Bömischen Herrn, Leo's von Rozmital, Ritter-Hof-und-Pilger-Reise durch die Abendlande*, 1465 – 1467. Beschrieben von Zweien seiner Begleiter. [Library of the Literary Society in Stuttgart. Seventh Publication. Travels of the Bohemian Nobleman, Leo von Rozmital, through the Western Countries of Europe, in the Years 1465 – 1467. Described by two of his Companions.] Stuttgart. 1844.

The Stuttgart "Literarischer Verein" is a society, formed a few years ago, for the purpose of publishing ancient German monuments which have never seen the light before, or which, having been once published, have become, in the course of time, exceedingly rare, or have fallen wholly out of the recognized circle of literature. It embraces many of the most distinguished scholars and antiquarians, who have already rendered good service to the cause of letters, by giving to the world a series of very curious and interesting documents, which illustrate the early history, manners, and modes of life of modern Europe. The plan of the society seems to be something like that of the Camden Club in England, or of the Shakspeare Society, but on a more comprehensive scale. They have already published seven volumes, each of which has been edited with great ability and learning, and all are printed in a style of uncommon excellence. The first publication appeared in 1842, and contained the "Strassburgische Chronik" of Fritsche Closener, a curious chronicle of Strasburg, written in the German language early in the fourteenth century. The second publication came out the following year, and contains a "Life of the Knight Georg von Ehingen," from a manuscript of the fifteenth century; Æneas Sylvius, "De Viris Illustribus"; Ott Ruland's "Handlungsbuch," a very curious book of accounts, kept by the head of a commercial house in the imperial city of Ulm, about the middle of the fifteenth century, which embodies a great variety of items besides those which make up a modern leger; and the "Codex Hirsaugiensis," a valuable history of the cloister of Hirsau, containing much important information respecting the powerful houses throughout the southwestern part of Germany, in the

Middle Ages. The work is supposed to have been written at the beginning of the thirteenth century, though the manuscript from which it is printed dates as late as the beginning of the sixteenth. The other works already published are, a Latin account of a journey to the Holy Land, Arabia, and Egypt, made in the latter half of the fifteenth century, by Brother Felix Faber; letters of the Princess Elizabeth Charlotte of Orleans to the Raugravine * Louise, written between 1676 and 1722, and edited by Wolfgang Menzel; and "Die Weingartner Liederhandschrift," or the Weingarten Manuscript of old German Songs, being the first complete publication of one of the most interesting monuments extant of early German poetry. This manuscript dates at the beginning of the fourteenth century, and is ornamented with colored portraits of the principal poets, drawn in the style of the close of the thirteenth century. These portraits, though stiff and rudely designed, are highly characteristic and expressive. Among them, we find the famous names of Kaiser Heinrich, Heinrich von Morungen, Liutolt von Savene, and Walther von der Vogelweide. They are all faithfully copied in the publication of the society. The seventh and last publication is that of which the title stands at the head of the present article. It contains, besides the travels of the Bohemian nobleman, the "Livländische Reimchronik," a rhymed chronicle of Livonia, of great value, particularly in relation to the early history of the manners and customs of the Livonians. It extends to nearly thirteen thousand verses.

The object of the present article, however, is to give some account of the travels, adventures, and perils of the Herr von Rozmital, as they are chronicled in the two documents contained in the first half of the society's last publication. This nobleman was the brother-in-law of the reigning king of Bohemia, George von Podiebrad, who, having been regent, was raised to the throne by popular election in 1458, was excommunicated by the pope in 1469, and closed his troubled life in 1471. The Herr von Rozmital was undoubtedly intrusted by his brother-in-law with commissions of a political nature, as the journey was undertaken when

* An extinct title belonging to some noble families on the Rhine.

the difficulties of George were at their height, and just before he fell under the ban of the Church.

But the political objects of the mission, if such there were, do not distinctly appear in either of the two records now before us. They are both occupied with details of the journey, incidental notices of the manners and customs of the countries through which the travellers passed, pious descriptions of miracles which happened, for the most part, just before the travellers reached the places where they were performed, and accounts of shrines and relics, of which they saw the most astonishing quantities in every country which they visited. The dangers of the journey were neither few nor small. In those days it was worth while to travel. The pilgrim was encompassed by marvels on every side ; and he could scarcely pass from one village to another without being compelled to fight for his life. One cannot read the history of Herr von Rozmital and his gallant company without envying them those good old times, when the exceeding difficulty of defending life made life worth the having ; when the delights of compassing sea and land had not yet been annihilated by turnpikes, railroads, steamboats, and comfortable inns ; when banditti flourished, and the age of chivalry had not gone ; when picturesque tourists, and travelling cockneys, and fastidious dandies — such as now throng every thoroughfare in the world — still lay in their rudimentary and merely possible state, undeveloped by the force of civilization ; when a man, who set out on a journey of a few hundred miles, made his will, commended his soul to God, and, if he returned in safety, sang psalms of thanksgiving, was looked upon as a wonder, remained ever after the oracle of his neighbourhood, and was made at least a burgomaster of his native city.

Of the two journals which contain the travels and adventures of the Herr von Rozmital, one is in Latin, written originally in the Bohemian, by one of the company called Schaschek, or Ssassek. This was translated into Latin about a century afterwards, by Stanislaus Pawlowski, canon, and afterwards bishop, at Olmütz. The Bohemian original is now lost. The second is in German, written by Gabriel Tetzel, a good citizen of Nuremberg, who had been invited to accompany the mission. The manuscript of this journal was discovered in 1837, and belongs to the fifteenth century.

About the same time, the editor succeeded in obtaining possession of a copy of Pawlowski's Latin translation of Ssassek, and was thus enabled to publish the two documents together. On comparing them, they are found to agree in every important particular, and to differ chiefly in relating or omitting different incidents of the journey. A few slight inaccuracies in Gabriel Tetzel's story, such as substituting 1468 for 1467, the true date of the conclusion of the mission, show, in the opinion of the editor, that the Nuremberger's reminiscences were not reduced to writing until after his return ; and as he was made a burgomaster of Nuremberg in 1469, and died in 1479, there might have been, between the date of the journey and the date of the journal, an interval of nine or ten years. There is another characteristic difference between these two documents, which is worth stating. Whenever they describe a visit to a shrine or an assemblage of relics, the Bohemian gives a minute catalogue of these objects of superstitious veneration with the most solemn and unhesitating simplicity ; but Gabriel Tetzel, coming from an important commercial city, and having doubtless had his eyes opened by a more extended intercourse with the world, treats them with comparative indifference. Not that he casts any doubt upon their sacred character, — not at all ; but he dwells more lovingly on the knightly entertainments, the gold, and jewels, and precious stones, and especially on the "unspeakably rich meals" with which they were feasted from place to place.

The journal of Ssassek possesses almost an official authenticity from the circumstance, that in it are preserved all the letters of safe conduct granted to the Baron Rozmital by the monarchs through whose territories he passed. To illustrate the different styles of these two worthies, we take from each the description of the commencement of the journey. Ssassek thus begins : —

"In the year of our salvation, MCCCCLXV., the day after the festival of the blessed virgin Saint Catharine, the Lord Leo departed, and remained the first night at Pilsna (Pilsen), and there, with all his companions confessed his sins. The next night we passed at Tepla (Tepel), in the monastery ; thence we proceeded to Egra (Eger), and there stopped for the night. From Eger we went to Neustadt, thence to Paierreuth, — that town, belonging to the territory of the Marquis of Brandenburg, is situated in

Voigtland ; — from Paierreuth to Gravenberg, from Gravenberg to Noriberga (Nuremberg). At Nuremberg we remained two days, and saw these sacred relics: first, there was shown to us the manger in which the mother of God placed the infant Jesus ; then, an arm of Saint Anna, and a tooth of Saint John the Baptist; also, a piece of the wood of the holy cross on which Christ was crucified, and the right-hand nail with which the same was fastened to the cross. Afterwards, there was shown to us the sword of Saint Mauritius, and another sword, that of the Holy Emperor Charles, which is said to have been given to him by God from heaven, that he might use it against his enemies, the heathen ; *item*, his spurs, greaves, and boots. We saw afterwards the chains of Saint Peter and Saint Paul, who suffered for the name of God. Then we beheld the spear with which the blessed side of Christ was pierced. The priests placed our rings upon it, that whoever might be troubled with a pain or stitch in the side might have with him a certain remedy. Besides these, many other relics of the saints were shown to our lord and his companions, which are not noted down in this place. . . . . From Nuremberg we went to Hailsbruna (Heilsbronn,) a monastery under the authority of the Marquis. In that monastery, the blood of the Lord is not elevated when mass is performed ; wherefore I have not discovered. From Heilsbronn we proceeded to Anspach, where the Marquis has a palace ; in this place we remained for the space of two days. And there Johannes Zehroviensis (Johann von Kolowrat auf Zehrowitz, one of the train, of whom more hereafter) ran a tilt with Mirossius and both were thrown by each other's stroke from their horses. Frodner also tilted with one of the servants of the Marquis ; but both kept on their horses. The wife of the Margrave was a spectator, together with her maids, and illustrious and noble persons, and a multitude of men. The spectacle being over, the Marquis took my lord by the hand, led him with the rest of the company into the castle, and there honorably entertained him with dances, and other sports and spectacles."

So far the good Ssassek. Tetzel begins as follows : —

"The noble and well born lord, the Lord Leo von Rozmital, lord of Platten and Freyenberg, undertook to do a knight's journey, when were numbered after the birth of Christ a thousand four hundred, and in the six [mistake for five] and sixtieth year. Before Saint Catharine's day, he fared forth from Prague with two-and-fifty horses, and with a sumpter-wagon (*Kamerwagen*). And he took with him of the noblemen, Herr Jan Scrobitz Kollatbratt, a banneret, Herr Buyan von Schwanburck (Burian of Schwanberg), a banneret, Achacy (Achatz) Frodner,

a gentleman, Pyltepesky, a gentleman, Mirnyss, a gentleman, Pollack, a gentleman, Knysto, a gentleman; Indersyz, a gentleman; and three squires, among whom was a banneret's son; besides other chosen vassals. And he came to Greiffenberg on Saint Barbara's eve, and prayed me to ride with him to Nuremberg.

"And so, on the way, he spake to me of his journey; that he would visit all the Christian kingdoms, and all the principalities in German and foreign lands, both spiritual and secular, and especially that he would go to the Holy Sepulchre, and to the beloved Saint James (i. e. to Compostella).

"*Item.* At Nuremberg he entreated me much, through my friends, to go with him; and so I consented. He also remained several days in my house, and got himself ready, and clad himself and all his servants in red, in fine, costly velvet; he also took with him his cook, steward, and butler, and in all respects kept a princely state.

"After that, I entreated my lord that he would permit Gabriel Muffel to accompany him with a horse, and me with two.

"And so he departed one day before me to Nuremberg, and thence proceeded to Anspach. There Gabriel Muffel and I came to him.

"*Item.* At Anspach he remained several days. My lord, the Margrave Albrecht, paid him great honor, and gave him entertainment, and caused a dance to be made for him in the women's apartment. Achatz Frodner jousted with a Seckendorffer; Herr Jan Serobky and Mirusch, my lord's companions, they also jousted. We also must needs feast at the court, and he [the Margrave] paid for my lord, both for him and all that were with him at the inn [literally, ransomed him from the hostel].

"*Item.* We rode from Anspach to Feuchtwang and Keylsam (Greilsheim). My lord the Margrave appointed Wilhelm von Kersheim and Sebastian von Seckendorf to attend upon my lord; they rode with my lord, and paid for my lord's entertainment all the way through my lord the Margrave's territory.

"*Item.* Afterwards we rode into the land of Hohenlohe. There an ambush was laid to overthrow my lord; and when every one, my lord, nobleman, and page, must needs bear his arbalist on his saddle, then they thought we were too strong for them.

"And so we came to Öring (Oehringen). The 'Jung von Hohenlohe' came to my lord, and gave him much wild-boar's flesh and oats: he sent to my lord a servant, who rode with my lord to Hall and Wimpffen. A councillor presented my lord there with precious wine."

The party proceeded on their journey, through Heidelberg and the imperial city of Frankfort, to Cologne. At Cologne, says Tetzel,

"They furnished my lord with wine in vessels. The Bishop of Cologne made my lord his guest, him and all his retinue, gave him a very splendid banquet, and behaved very graciously towards him. My lord remained there several days. . . . . Herr Jan Serobky Kolbart jousted with Achatz Frodner, and Gabriel Tetzel with the bishop's steward, named Burkhart von Pfolheim. The bishop was also on the course. . . . . At night, my lord invited many beautiful women, and had a dance at the council-house. . . . . We saw the three holy kings, Saint Ursula's head, with her companions', and their bones, and many other great saints, who there lie buried, whereof it were much to write, and very many shrines, and saints who have suffered martyrdom there.

"*Item.* From Cologne we rode to Achen (Aix la Chapelle), to visit the shrine of our Blessed Lady. There the burghers of the city did my lord great honor and reverence, and sent him wine, and invited my lord to their council-house, and showed him many precious things. Also, they gave him a very costly collation which they had prepared for him. My lord bathed also in the warm bath, and they let him see many costly sacred vessels."

Many of these vessels Gabriel proceeds to enumerate, as separate items, in the most matter-of-fact fashion. It is worth while to see how the pious Ssassek describes the visit to the same city.

"Here the three kings are buried, and Saint Ursula, with her companions, the virgins; and Saint Helena, who discovered the Holy Cross, and caused the Sepulchre to be rebuilt at Jerusalem; she also is entombed in the temple where the three kings lie buried. We were eight days at Cologne. On the second day, there were shown to us the three kings in the cathedral church, the body of Saint Veronica, and very many other relics. On the third day, we were led to the temple, where the blessed virgin Saint Ursula is buried, with eleven thousand virgins. The priests, by whom those relics were shown to us, affirmed, that, with those eleven thousand virgins, thirty-six thousand others were slain. Afterwards, we were conducted to a chapel, where single relics were enumerated, each by its own name. First, was shown to us Saint Ursula; then, a king of England, to whom Saint Ursula had been betrothed; the father and mother of the same king, whom Saint Ursula had converted to the Christian

religion; afterwards, an Æthiopian woman, the daughter of a certain heathen king; and very many other heads, hairs, legs, and arms, all of which it would be a great labor to enumerate one by one.

"On the fourth day, my lord's servants jousted; Johannes Zehroviensis with Frodner, and Tacelius a Craffenberg (which is the Latin for our friend Tetzel) with one belonging to the retinue of the Bishop of Cologne. In the collision neither of them fell from his horse. On the day when these spectacles were exhibited, my lord gave orders to assemble the illustrious matrons and maidens. They came together in great numbers, and I saw many in that banquet, if I ever did anywhere. The feast was celebrated with various sports and dances. In the mean time, the matrons and the maids go to my lord, and humbly pray him, in the name of the bishop, that my lord, for the sake of the bishop, would lead down a dance with his companions after the manner of his country. My lord consenting, and beginning to lead the dance, four-and-twenty young men, each in complete armor, and holding torches in their hands, danced before him. These armed dancers were preceded by four-and-twenty others, each also bearing a torch in his hands. The dances being finished, various offerings of food and drink were brought to my lord. Then my lord, with his companions, was honorably conducted by the maids and matrons, even to his inn."

Thus even the simple-hearted Bohemian could not resist the temptation to chronicle the merry-makings at Cologne, after he had satisfied his conscience by describing the relics of the saints; while the more carnal-minded Gabriel Tetzel, having, according to his nature, first revelled in the recollection of the jousting and good cheer, was evidently a little pricked in conscience until he had set down, in his commercial, summary way, the saintly items of the account.

It would be pleasant to accompany our travellers through every step of their progress, for the whole journey abounds in quaint and whimsical incidents, highly characteristic of the age; but we must hasten forward on the road to Brussels, where they found the Duke of Burgundy. There they saw excellent pictures, ascended the tower and had a noble view of the city, and were most honorable entertained. The son of the old Duke was absent on a military enterprise; and our travellers were entreated to remain until his return. The arrival of the young prince was celebrated with equestrian and other chivalrous games, in which Johannes Zehroviensis took

part with his usual success. Johannes seems to have been the sturdiest champion of all the company; whenever there was any jousting, tilting, wrestling, or real fighting to be done, Johannes was sure to have a hand in the business, and generally was more than a match for any antagonist that might be pitted against him. On this occasion, he was put up to wrestle with a brawny fellow, whose equal was not to be found in all the Duke of Burgundy's dominions. A great concourse of the most illustrious persons, including matrons and damsels, was drawn together to witness the spectacle. Johannes made little ado, and thrice threw his adversary as fast as he could get up. The spectators could scarcely believe their eyes; and the Duke was so astonished, that he sent for Johannes, clad with the thorax only, just as he had wrestled, and scrutinized his whole body, feeling all his limbs, his feet, and his hands, and wondering greatly that his wrestler was beaten.

This scene so warmed up the courage of our pious Bohemian, Ssassek, that he approached the prince and thus addressed him: "Most illustrious prince, I entreat your Highness to assign me an adversary whom your Highness may judge to be my equal." We must give the result in the very words of our honest friend.

"When this was heard, the prince ordered some one to be sent for who should wrestle with me. We set to, and I at first threw him. But when, by the Duke's order, I closed with him a second time, I was thrown to the ground so hard that I thought the devil had got me. The wrestling-match being over, the Duke ordered wine and sweetmeats to be brought, and such a quantity was scattered over the pavement as scarcely could have been bought for many gold pieces. But the princesses gave me so much, that I got back with difficulty to the hostel; for I was very drunk."

These were followed up by other sports and festivities. Of one of the feasts given by the Duke of Burgundy, Tetzel says, "It was the most costly and splendid that I have ever eaten in all my days." But it will not do thus to linger on the way. They passed through Ghent and Bruges, and at length arrived at Calais, on their way to England. Thence they put to sea, but were driven back and detained three days by a violent storm. Tetzel says, "One day God gave us the luck that we had a good wind, and that the master of the

ship was willing to proceed, and had already taken the ship out of port. Then my lord must needs sit in a small boat, and go out to the large vessel. Then there fell upon us the mightiest wind, that we were well-nigh drowned, and with great pains we got to the great ship. And had not Jan and Gabriel Tetzel done as they did, then would the Lord Leo, when he would go on board the great ship, have been drowned." However, they proceeded to cross the channel, and saw from a distance the "high, chalky hills" of England. "And the sea afflicted my lord and his companions so much, that they lay in the ship as if they were dead." They landed at Sandwich, and journeyed on to Canterbury, where they hastened to pay their respects at the shrine of Saint Thomas à Becket, "who," according to Ssassek, "was slain in that church, because he firmly resisted the unjust laws which King Henry enacted against the liberty of the Catholic church." The following are only a part of the relics they saw in that once famous sanctuary: —

"First, we saw the head-band of the Blessed Virgin, a piece of Christ's garment, and three thorns from his crown. Then we saw the vestment of Saint Thomas, and his brain, and the blood of Saint Thomas and of Saint John, the Apostles. We saw also the sword with which Saint Thomas of Canterbury was beheaded, the hair of the mother of God, and a part of the Sepulchre. There was also shown to us a part of the shoulder of the blessed Simeon, who bore Christ in his arms, the head of the blessed Lustrabena, one leg of Saint George, a piece of the body and the bones of Saint Laurence, a leg of the bishop St. Romanus, the cup of Saint Thomas, which he had been accustomed to use in administering the sacrament at Canterbury, a leg of the virgin Milda, a leg of the virgin Euduarda. We also saw a tooth of John the Baptist, a portion of the cross of the Apostles Peter and Andrew, a tooth and a finger of Stephen the Martyr, bones of the virgin Catharine, and oil from her sepulchre, which is said to flow even to this day, hair of the blessed Mary Magdalene, a tooth of Saint Benedict, a finger of Saint Urban, the lips of one of the infants slain by Herod, bones of the blessed Clement, bones of Saint Vincent. Very many other things were also shown to us, which are not set down by me in this place."

This Canterbury pilgrimage took place sixty-five years after the death of Chaucer. Having satisfied their pious curiosity, our wayfarers proceeded to London. Ssassek

says, "Though the kingdom is of small extent, it is exceedingly populous, and abounds in beautiful women and maids, whom we gazed upon when my lord was invited by the king to dinner." The hints of manners, and sketches of national peculiarities, which our travellers give in the portions of their journal occupied with England, are quite curious and entertaining. It was in the reign of the showy and pleasure-loving monarch, Edward the Fourth, and his second wife, the lady Elizabeth Woodville, that this visit was made. The first objects described by the Bohemian journalizer are of course the relics; but he found so many of them in London, that he fairly gave up the attempt to record them all, in despair. Among the customs of the people which attracted his particular attention, one was, that, on the arrival of a distinguished stranger from foreign parts, maids and matrons went to the inn, and welcomed him with gifts; another, that, when guests arrived at an inn, the hostess, with all her family, went out to meet and receive them, and the guests were required to kiss them all; and this among the English was the same as shaking hands among other nations. "In no region," honestly adds our authority, "were we held in such honor as there." Erasmus, who was born the very year that Ssassek returned home, describes a similar custom as prevailing in England in his time, and bestows upon it his most decided approbation. "Our long hair," says Ssassek, "was a great astonishment to them; for they declared that they had never seen any who excelled us in the length and beauty of the hair; and they could by no means be made to believe that it was a natural growth, but they said it must have been stuck on with pitch. And whenever any of us thus long-haired appeared in public, he had more people to stare at him than if some strange animal had been exhibited." With regard to the entertainments, the Bohemian merely says, "My lord was kindly and magnificently treated, and all his companions, especially Schasco (Ssassek), both in the royal palace and elsewhere." For further information on these points, we must have recourse to Gabriel Tetzel:—

"Once upon a day," says he, "the king ordered us to be bidden to the court. Then the queen went in the morning from childbed to the church, with a splendid procession, with many of the priesthood, who bore the sacred vessels, and many scholars, who chanted, and all bore blazing torches. Thereafter came a

great troop of women and virgins, from the country and from London, who had been bidden. Then came a great number of trumpeters, and pipers, and others, players on stringed instruments. Then the king's musicians, about two-and-forty, who sang stately chants. Then about four-and-twenty heralds and pursuivants. Then about sixty earls and knights. After these went the queen. Two dukes preceded. A canopy was borne above her. After her followed her mother, and maidens and women, about sixty. And so she heard an office chanted, and when she had entered the church with the same procession, she returned to her palace. And all who had gone in the procession were bidden to remain to the banquet; and they were seated, women and men, spiritual and temporal, each according to his condition, four great halls full.

"And so they gave my lord, and his companions, and the noblest lords, an especial banquet in the hall and at the tables, where the king was wont to feast with his court; and the king's most powerful earl was commanded to sit at the king's table, in the king's seat, in his stead. And my lord also sat at the same table, two steps lower down, and no one beside sat at that table. And all the honor which was wont to be paid the king, with carving and offering of wine, and presenting of the viands, in all respects as if the king himself were seated there, was done to the earl in the king's stead, and to my lord, with so much splendor that what was consumed there surpasses belief.

"And while we feasted, the king gave largess to all the trumpeters, pipers, and players; and to the heralds alone he gave four hundred nobles. And all whom he had given largess to came to the tables and proclaimed aloud what the king had given to them. When my lord had now feasted with the earl, he led my lord with all his retinue into a hall most richly adorned, where was the queen, and she was just about to banquet. And so he placed my lord and his companions in a recess, that he might behold the sumptuousness.

"And so the queen sat down on a costly golden seat, at a table alone. The queen's mother and the king's sister must needs stand far down. And when the queen spoke with her mother, or with the king's sister, they always knelt before her, until the queen took water. And when the first dish had been set before her, then the queen's mother and the king's sister also sat down. And her women and maids, and all who served the queen at table, were all of powerful earls' families, and all must kneel as long as she ate. And she ate nigh three hours, and of many costly viands, which were set before her, and before her mother and the rest, whereof much might be written; and every one was still,

not a word spoken. My lord with his companions stood ever in the recess and looked on.

"After the banquet, there began a dance. The queen remained sitting on her chair. Her mother kneeled before her; at times, she bade her arise. Then the king's sister danced a stately dance with two dukes, and the stately reverences which were made to the queen were such as I have never elsewhere seen paid by such surpassingly beautiful damsels. Among them were eight duchesses, and about thirty countesses, and all the rest the daughters of mighty men. After the dance, the king's musicians were bidden to enter, and were commanded to sing. We also heard them when the king heard mass in his chapel, since my lord and his companions were admitted; and I think that there are no better singers in the world. Then the king permitted us to see his sacred vessels, and many saints who lie in London. And especially we saw a stone which was brought from the Mount of Olives, whereon was a footprint of our Lord, and a girdle and ring of our Lady, and many other sacred things.

"Afterwards, two earls invited my lord with his companions to their house. They gave us an unspeakably costly banquet, about sixty, according to their custom. There we saw the most sumptuous tapestries. Afterwards, my lord invited many earls and gentlemen to his house, and gave them a feast in the Bohemian fashion. They thought it very strange. My lord armed himself, and would fain have jousted with his companions; but the king would not permit it. And so my Lord Leo, Lord Frodner, and Gabriel Tetzel bestowed all their harness and steeds upon the king, and left all their jousting gear in England. After this, my lord took leave of the king, and the king paid for my lord at the hostel, and we were there about forty days."

After these festivities in London were over, our pilgrims visited other places in England, under the conduct of a guide whom the king had granted them, "that they might see the kingdom." It is impossible to describe the whole journey; but we must copy a few sentences from Gabriel Tetzel's description of their visit to the Duke of Clarence, at Salisbury.

"He received my lord very joyfully, and paid him great honor and reverence. We remained there over Palm-Sunday, and beheld there the most splendid procession, how our Lord rode into Jerusalem. And the Duke himself went in the procession, and took my lord with him. After the service, my lord, with his companions, was bidden to a feast at court; and the Duke and my lord ate together, and my lord's vassals with the counts and gentlemen. There they gave us an unspeakably costly ban-

quet, and we ate for about three hours; and at the banquet they gave us a dish that should be fish, which was roasted, and formed like a duck. It has his wings, his feathers, his neck, his feet, and layeth eggs, and tasteth like a wild duck. This we were made to eat for a fish; but in my mouth it was flesh; and they say that it should be fish, because it grows first out of a worm in the sea; and when it becomes great, it acquires a form like a duck, and lays eggs; but it never hatches the same eggs, and is not itself produced therefrom, and seeks its food always in the sea, and not on the land. Therefore should it be a fish."

These curious birds are noticed by Ssassek. He says they are produced in the sea, and have no food except the air. From Salisbury they proceeded to Poole, called by Ssassek, Polla, and by Tetzel, Pülle, whence they embarked for Brittany. They not only had a stormy passage, but were attacked and captured by pirates, who, however, after detaining them half a day, and having learned the rank of their prisoners, and how many powerful kings and princes were their protectors, allowed them to continue the voyage. They were obliged to cast anchor at the isle of Guernsey, where they remained twelve days, but found nothing to buy for man or beast. Setting sail from Guernsey, they encountered a storm, which carried away the mast of the ship. They had much trouble with the horses, especially as they had provided themselves, when they left England, with food and drink, and fodder, only for four days, that being the time the passage would have occupied with a fair wind. After seventeen days of incredible hardship, they reached St. Malo, one of the principal cities in Brittany. From St. Malo they proceeded to Nantes, where they found the Duke of Brittany, Francis the Second, "who is a very handsome man. He paid my lord great honor, and showed my lord his wife with all her maids, who were extraordinarily beautiful, and sent my lord food and drink every day to the inn."

Thence they visited René of Anjou, the king of Sicily, whom they found in a "fair city, called Symell" (Saumur); and then proceeded to Orleans, visiting Louis the Eleventh, the king of France, whom they found at a small town not far from Saumur. They were most kindly received by him, and by the queen, "who, with all her maids, embraced my lord in her arms, and each one kissed

him on the mouth. So the king had ordered, and so would he have it. And she gave her hand to all his servants ; and the queen and her maids demeaned themselves very friendlily towards my lord and his attendants. Afterwards, the king commanded a very sumptuous banquet to be prepared for my lord and his companions. And the splendid display of costly goblets and silver cups, and of sumptuous viands, and of mighty counts and lords who served at table, no man would believe."

Gabriel Tetzel gives some amusing particulars of the character and habits of the king ; but we must hurry forward with our travellers into Spain, which they entered by way of Biscay, towards the end of the month of June. This was thirty years before Ferdinand and Isabella had united the crowns of Castile and Aragon, and received from the pope the title of Catholic for having expelled the Moors. They pursued their journey, passing over high and difficult mountains, where "neither houses, men, nor cattle were to be seen" ; crossing rivers, where they had to fight their way through hostile Christians, Jews, and heathen ; enduring excessive heat ; their horses sickening, and "my lord's best stallion dying" ; until at length they arrived at Burgos. "The citizens," says Gabriel, "paid my lord great honor in that city, and gave him precious wine and sweetmeats ; and made for my lord, in the public square in the midst of the city, a baiting with wild bulls." Both Ssassek and Tetzel describe the bull-fight in nearly the same terms as would be used at the present day. They saw here, as elsewhere, many sacred relics ; but what especially excited their wonder was a crucifix in a church about a bow-shot from the city. The crucifix had a body upon it, of the stature of a tall man. The hair and nails of the body grew, and when the limbs were touched, they moved. It was made neither of wood nor of stone, and the body had in every respect the figure of a dead man. No man knew whence this wonderful crucifix was obtained ; according to the priests, it had been found at sea, about five hundred years before, by some Spanish sailors, who fell in with a galleon, on board which the body had been placed. Seeing it at a distance, they supposed it to be a pirate craft belonging to the Catalonians ("who," adds Ssassek, "although they are of the Christian faith, are great pirates notwithstanding, and are the terror of all") ; and they prepared for resistance. They cautiously approached

the ship, and seeing no one on board, thought at first it was a trick. They then sent a part of their crew in a small boat, who at last ventured into the galleon, but found only the cross and the body, which they carried with them to Burgos. According to Ssassek, the cross had wrought miracles two hundred years before, but had then wholly ceased its wonder-working agency.

Gabriel Tetzel is, for once, more credulous than the Bohemian. He gives some further particulars of the history of the cross, and states, that, according to the greatest masters, Nicodemus prayed the Lord, when he took him from the cross, that he might be permitted to make a cross like that on which the Lord was crucified ; that the crucifix appeared to him in the night, and he had kept it a long time in his possession, and always prayed before it. He further declares, that, on the day when he (Tetzel) saw the crucifix, *two* great miracles were performed. A child that had been dead two days, and a child that had broken both its legs, and a man that had St. Anthony's fire, were all made fresh and sound on that day.

There were many heathen in and round Burgos. "In the city," says Gabriel, "there is a mighty count, who asked my lord to his house, and also summoned many beautiful maids and women, who were very gorgeously clad in the heathen or Turkish fashion ; and the feast was arranged in every respect, with drinks and viands, after the manner of the heathen. The women and damsels danced a very stately dance according to the heathen way ; and they are all brown women, with black eyes, and eat and drink little, and like to see wayfarers, and are fond of Germans."

Proceeding on their journey from Burgos, they encountered many difficulties from the distracted state of the country, which was then torn by civil war. A bloody strife was waging between Henry the Fourth of Castile, and his younger brother, Don Alfonso. To visit the king, they

"Must ride where were nothing but heathen, over huge mountains, in great heat. And so we rode many days' journey ; and when we reached a market-place or village, they would not give us entertainment, but we were forced to remain in the fields in the open air. And if we would buy drink, or bread, or any thing else, we must give money for it beforehand ; and then they gave us a wine, that was brought over the mountains on mules,

in goat-skins, and was lukewarm. Would we have bread, they gave us meal weighed by the pound, and we poured water on it, and made it into cakes, and baked it in the hot ashes. Would we have any thing for the horses to eat, we must go out ourselves and cut it, and bring it in; and if there was grain, we must pay dearly for it. If we would have flesh, nothing was to be found but goats' flesh, and we must skin and dress them ourselves, and buy every thing needful to cook them; so that I think that the gypsies everywhere are much better kept than we were in that country. One very seldom finds hens, eggs, milk, cheese, or lard; for they have no cows, and seldom eat flesh, and eat nothing but the fruits.

"In Spain, when a resident nobleman rides over the land, he rides on a mule, and all his servants, often as many as thirty or forty, must run on foot as fast as their lord rides, often twelve or fourteen [German] miles (each equal to four English miles) in a day, and some of the servants run before him. And then, when he will eat, or take up his quarters for the night, they cook for him, and prepare for him to eat; and what is left by their lord, the attendants must needs therewith be content. And one finds among them many a servant who runs day in and day out, so that he never walks. They are a folk that may well bear hunger and labor. And so we came many days' journey, with sore hardship and great uproar, which we must needs have with them. We must often defend us, life and limb, when we knew well that they lay in wait for us, and that they would fain have killed us all for our goods. And so we drew on, through a horrible waste and wilderness, to a count who held not with the old king, but with the younger. In those times, the two brothers were against one another, and either brother would be king in Spain, and some of the land held with the old king, and some with the young; and there was much discord and war. And so we rode to a count who was with the young king. He was sore wroth, that my lord, without leave, had ridden into his land; he conducted my lord to a knight who held with the old king. The same knight conducted my lord to a village, a mile away from a city which is called Gabryn, where was at the time the king of Spain. And so my lord tarried five days in the village, and sent the Lords Jan (Johannes), Frodner, Pittipeski, Muffel, and me to the king, that we should give the king to know of my lord's journey, and that he would also visit his kingdom, and prayed him for safe conduct. The king forthwith admitted us unto him, and he sat on the ground upon carpets, in the heathen fashion, and gave all of us his hand, and heard our prayer, and was joyful for my lord's coming, and said my lord must have patience in the village,

for it was full in the town, so that he could not lodge him there. But for love of my lord, he would journey to another city, four miles from Gabryn, and there would admit my lord to him, and graciously hear him. And he sent to my lord a knight, who should conduct him into the same city. And as the king was out of the city, the knight led my lord into the king's hall, which is exceeding sumptuously built; there the king had commanded a costly banquet to be prepared for my lord, and we tarried there two days. And a mighty bishop in the city, who was very powerful with the king, also bade my lord to his house, and did him very great honor."

At length, with much difficulty and many hardships, they reached Olmedo, where the king was then stationed. Here they were as well received by the king as, under existing circumstances, could reasonably have been expected. Our old friend, Johannes Zehroviensis, had a wrestling-match with a Spaniard, in the presence of three bishops and a large concourse of people. Johannes had his usual good-luck, threw his opponent, and sat on him when he was down; whereat the bishops and all the assembly marvelled, for their man was never beaten before. "The king," says Ssassek, "being informed of this affair, sent the same bishops and several knights to my lord, begging him to command Johannes to repeat the contest with another wrestler. Johannes refusing, my lord, unwilling that the bishops should be disappointed, commanded him to wrestle again with the same man. The wrestler laid Johannes very easily on the ground. The king, the bishops, and a great many people were present as spectators, and exulting with great joy, congratulated him for the victory."

Johannes was compelled to acknowledge, that he had never seen such a man as this Spaniard. Among other exploits, he laid his hand on the shoulder of Johannes, and with closed feet leaped over him, although the Spaniard was a very short man. Tetzel, speaking of the same adventure, says: "Herr Jan (Johannes) would not wrestle with him more, for he was much too strong for him, and was a short, thick man."

On the whole, our travellers formed quite an unfavorable opinion of Olmedo and its inhabitants.

"While we were with the king and his court," says Tetzel, "we had a great deal of uproar with the heathen, and must needs often defend both life and limb. Once they would

enter forcibly my lord's chamber; but we drove them out. Then arose a great tumult, and more than four hundred of them came to my lord's inn, and we drew our crossbows, and held the house against them with force; and they wounded some of our companions, and we wounded some of them. But with their bucklers they were too nimble for us."

Here we must accuse our friend Tetzel of a slight want of candor. The Olmedans were not quite so much to blame as he would make it appear. Honest Ssassek, who has as low an opinion of them as Tetzel, amidst the hard things he says, mentions a little incident suppressed by Gabriel, which puts the transaction in a very different light.

"Of this city," says he, "I have nothing else to write, save that it is inhabited by men worse than the very heathen; for when the priest elevates the body of our Lord in the mass, no one falls on his knees, but they remain standing like brute beasts. They lead an impure and Sodomitical life, so that I should be ashamed to mention their crimes. They even make a boast, that no city like it is found in all Spain, and I can easily believe the thing to be so. . . . . Among them dwell many pagans, who are called Saracens; but which are the better, the pagans or the Christians, I could not easily decide.

"This insult, also, was put upon us. Johannes Zehroviensis, toying with a damsel at the inn, laid his hand upon her bosom, which a Spaniard seeing, swore at him in his own tongue; but we did not understand it. Johannes came up to him, gave him a blow, and tumbled him out of the hostel. Two hours afterwards, he attacked the house with about four hundred men whom he had collected, intending to slay us. The king, having heard of what had been done, immediately sent some noblemen to quell the tumult."

Ssassek describes a singular mode of inflicting the punishment of death, which he himself witnessed. The doomed man was placed upon a column, and shot at with arrows. The mark was placed on his right breast, and he who hit the nearest received twenty-four maravedis; he who missed was compelled to pay a gold piece. The money was afterwards spent in eating and drinking. "Whoever desires it," says he, "has permission to shoot; and it is discreditable to no one, but rather to his honor. I saw many miss the mark, and they were all required to pay down each a gold piece."

From Olmedo they proposed to visit the king's rival,

Don Alfonso ; but finding it impossible, on account of the displeasure which their visit to the king had excited in the prince's mind, they made the best of their way into Portugal. They passed through Salamanca, and, in speaking of the University, Gabriel says, " It is supposed there are not more learned people in Christendom than in that city." On entering Portugal, the country and the people seemed to them to be wretchedly poor ; " they found nothing to eat or drink for man or beast." There were no roads ; and it often happened that no traveller was seen for four or five years. The people dwelt in caves among the mountains, or under ground, and seldom went out, especially in the middle of the day, on account of the heat ; but labored and transacted their business mostly by night. They lived chiefly on fruits, and drank no wine. Our travellers suffered much from fatigue and hunger until they reached the city of Braga, " where," says Tetzel, " there is a powerful bishop, the friend of the king of Portugal. He paid great honor to my lord, and sent to my lord to the hostel enough of all that we needed, and sent to my lord a person to conduct him to Saint James." Ssassek states, that they found the king of Portugal at Braga, and that Leo had brought letters to him from his sister, the wife of the emperor, written by her own hand.

" In the city," says Gabriel, " my lord lost his cook ; and he did not come to us until we were at Saint James. Then we suffered much hardship, and ourselves must needs cook ; and often it came to such a pass, that we must, perforce, make our lodging under a tree in the open field, and secure our horses near us, like the gypsies. One ran and brought a sheep ; another must skin it ; some made the fire and cooked ; some cut grass for the horses ; my lord doing just like all the rest. And verily we had a hard and miserable life of it, until we came in three days to Saint James."

One of the principal objects of their pious pilgrimage was to visit Saint James of Compostella. But the church at this time was held in close siege, and it was with extreme difficulty that they obtained leave to enter and pay their devotions, of which Tetzel gives a very curious and interesting account ; but we have not space left to transfer it to our pages. From Saint James they went to Finisterre, which they call the *Finster Stern*, or the Black Star. This is the extreme western point of Portugal. The time of their visit

was more than thirty years before the voyage of Columbus and the discovery of the New World. "There," says Tetzel, "one sees nothing beyond, save the sky and sea; and they say that the sea is so stormy that no man may voyage over it; and no man knows what there may be beyond it. And it was told to us, that some had desired to find out what was beyond, and had fared forth with galleys and ships; but no one had ever returned." Ssassek says, that "nothing is to be seen beyond, but the waves and the sea, the end whereof God only knows." According to Tetzel, they saw the king again at Evora, whither he had fled from the pestilence; and the letters of the empress were delivered to him there. At an interview with the king at Braga, according to Ssassek, the following scene took place. The king had made a very complimentary speech, and promised to grant him whatever he would ask. The baron returned thanks for so great an honor, and entreated the king to bestow upon him two Æthiopians.

"The brother of the king, who was standing by, hearing the request, burst into a loud laugh, and said, 'Friend, what you ask for is of no importance; ask for something more valuable and more creditable than those Æthiopians. But since that is the only thing you request, I beseech you add to them a third gift from me; to wit, a monkey; and so you will return richly endowed to your country. Perhaps,' said he, 'you have no negroes and monkeys in your regions, and that is the reason you have asked for them before all other things?' When my lord said they were rarely seen there; 'Yet we,' replied the Duke, 'have great store of those things. The king here, my brother, possesses three cities in Africa, and his custom is to lead an army thither every year; and he never returns from an expedition, however slight, without bringing a hundred thousand or more Æthiopians, of every age and sex, and they are all sold like cattle; for the custom is for men to come together from other regions to buy them, and the king derives a larger income from the sale of them than from all the revenues of his kingdom. A little negro (*parvulus Æthiops*) fetches twelve or thirteen gold pieces of Portugal; but a grown-up one a much higher price.'

"And there is this custom," continues the journalizer, "that whoever has obtained a stout negro, and fit for labor, causes him to be baptized, and cannot sell him or alienate him, except he make him a free gift to a friend. But as long as the negro remains unbaptized, he has the right to sell him for as much as he can get."

They encountered many dangers on their return. They passed through the territory held by the pretender to the throne of Castile, through Merida, to Toledo ; thence, by way of Madrid, then a place of small importance, into Aragon. At Saragossa, they were received by King John the Second ; thence they journeyed through Catalonia, fighting their way to Barcelona. They passed on, by way of Perpignan, Montpellier, Nismes, and other cities, to Milan, where they were hospitably entertained by the magnificent duke, Galeazzo Maria. They visited Verona and Venice ; in the latter city, they were present at an assembly of the senate, and witnessed the method of voting. Thence they proceeded to Gratz, where the emperor, Frederic the Fourth, was then holding his court. Here they jousted ; but having left their harness in England, they were obliged to equip themselves in borrowed armor. They visited the empress at Neustadt, where they passed eight days in sports and revelry. The negroes and the monkeys, which they had brought from Portugal, gave the empress great delight. Leaving the empress, they experienced great difficulty from the hostile disposition of the king of Hungary ; but at length they reached Prague in safety, where they were received with joy and festivities, and were loaded with all the honors due to men who had performed such distant and perilous journeys.

Soon afterwards, Gabriel Tetzel returned to Nuremberg, where, as we have said, history informs us he was held in such high estimation, that he was raised in the following year to the dignity of burgomaster. The subsequent fate of Johannes Zehroviensis is involved in impenetrable obscurity ; perhaps his overthrow by the short, thick man in Spain broke his heart ; at any rate, his triumph appears to have ended there.

We must now take leave, however reluctantly, of this pleasant and worshipful company, with the single remark, that we have rarely met with a book which, by its quaint and picturesque simplicity, set before us the men and the manners of a past age so vividly and so truthfully as this.

ART. VII. — *Vestiges of the Natural History of Creation.* New York: Wiley & Putnam. 1845. 12mo. pp. 291.

THIS is one of the most striking and ingenious scientific romances that we have ever read. The writer of it is a bold man; he has undertaken to give a hypothetical history of creation, beginning, as the title-pages say, at the earliest period, and coming down to the present day. It is not quite so authentic as that of Moses, nor is it written with such an air of simplicity and confidence as the narrative of the Jewish historian; but it is much longer, and goes into a far greater variety of interesting particulars. It contradicts the Jewish cosmogony in a few particulars, and is at variance with probability and the ordinary laws of human reasoning in many others. But the rather liberal rules of interpretation, which it is now the fashion to apply to the first chapter of Genesis, will relieve the reader from any scruples on the former account; and as to the latter, in these days of scientific quackery, it would be quite too harsh to make any great complaint about such peccadilloes. The writer has taken up almost every questionable fact and startling hypothesis, that have been promulgated by proficients or pretenders in science during the present century, except animal magnetism; and for this omission we have reason to be thankful. The nebular hypothesis, Laplace's or Compte's theory of planets *shelled off* from the sun, spontaneous generation, — some of these vagaries, we admit, are of much older date than the year 1800, — the Macleay system, dogs playing dominoes, negroes born of white parents, materialism, phrenology, — he adopts them all, and makes them play an important part in his own magnificent theory, to the exclusion, in a great degree, of the well-accredited facts and established doctrines of science.

We speak lightly of the author's plan, as one can hardly fail to do of a scheme so magnificent, and going apparently so far beyond the ordinary sources of information and the range of the human intellect. But the execution of the work is of so high an order, as fairly to challenge attention and respect. The writer, who has not chosen to give his name to the world, is evidently a man of great ingenuity and correct taste, a master of style, a plausible, though not a pro-

found, reasoner, and having quite a general, but superficial, acquaintance with the sciences. His materials are arranged with admirable method, the illustrations are copious and interesting, the transitions are skilfully managed, and the several portions of the theory are so well fitted to each other, and form such a round and perfect whole, that it seems a pity to subject it to severe analysis and searching criticism. It is a very pleasant hypothesis, set forth in a most agreeable manner; and though it contains many objectionable features, these are cautiously veiled and kept in the background, and the reader is seduced into accepting most of the conclusions, before he is aware of their true character and tendency.

Before a just opinion can be formed of the correctness of the writer's views, it is necessary to take to pieces this skilful fabric, and to bring the parts together in a different connection and with greater succinctness, following out each doctrine to its inevitable, but most remote, conclusions, so as to obtain a just idea of the position in which we should be placed by the acceptance of the theory as a whole. For obvious reasons, the author has not chosen to give a general summary of his views, or to mention explicitly all the inferences that may be drawn from them. He merely puts the reader upon the track, indicating its general direction, and leaving it for him to find out what objects will be encountered by the way, and where the journey will end. We propose to finish the work that is thus left incomplete, and to set forth the doctrine in its plainest terms. We would reduce the theory at once to its narrowest compass and simplest expression; but at the same time, would incorporate into it every doctrine which properly belongs to it, and follow out each hypothesis to its remote, though necessary, inferences and conclusions. To this end, it is requisite to separate, as far as possible, the doctrines themselves from the evidence adduced in support of them; and to consider the former as a whole, before proceeding to discuss the cogency of the latter. The following may be taken as the most concise abstract that we can form of the history of the creation, according to this author.

In the beginning — we use this word in a kind of preterperfect sense — in the *very* beginning of things, immense portions of infinite space were filled with finely diffused nebulous matter, heated to an intensity that is altogether inconceivable. The particles of this "fire mist," as it is appro-

priately called, were the true *primordia rerum*, — the elements of the universe, — the principles of all the forms of inorganic matter and all organic things. At the outset, the Creator endowed these particles with certain qualities and capacities, and then stood aside from his work, as there was nothing farther for him to do. The subsequent progress of creation is only the successive *development*, upon mechanical and necessary principles, and as fast as proper occasions were offered, of these qualities thus made inherent in the primitive constitution of matter. The atoms thus marvellously endowed have gone on, without any further aid from Almighty power, to form suns, and astral systems, and planets with their satellites, and worlds tenanted by successive generations and races of vegetable and animal things. And this work of creation, or rather of development, is still in progress all around us, and in all its various stages, though in the portion most directly exposed to the observation of man it is far advanced towards perfection. Upon this earth, the unaided action of these atoms is still evolving all the phenomena of generation, progress, and decay, of vegetable and animal life, of instinct and of mind. In the abyss of space, it is also forming new suns, and solar systems, and worlds that are to pass through the same stages and wonderful transformations to which our own planet has already been subjected. All that has occurred with respect to this earth, and the system of which it forms a part, is but a type of what is constantly going on in the countless other systems of stars that people the firmament.

The first stage in the history of these fiery particles is the formation among them, in some unaccountable way, of nuclei, or centres of aggregation, like the bright points that are now visible in some of the nebulæ of the heavens. As soon as these centres are formed, gravity, one of the original principles of matter, begins to act, and the atoms in all the neighbouring parts of space are attracted towards the nucleus and heaped upon it. In this manner, a central sun of vast dimensions is formed, which soon assumes a motion of rotation upon its axis from the general law which gives a circular movement to all fluids that are drawn towards a common centre. The centrifugal force thus generated tends to throw off matter from the equatorial regions of the great orb, but is restrained by the attraction of gravitation, which would

prevent any separation of the parts, if the sun itself did not now begin to cool down, and consequently to shrink in size. Under this cooling process, a crust is formed upon the surface, too rigid to yield to the force of gravity, and the parts within, continuing to shrink, separate from this envelope ; so that there is now a central orb, revolving more rapidly from its greater density and smaller diameter, and surrounded by an exterior shell, or band, like Saturn's ring, rotating at its original speed. As we cannot suppose that the ring would usually be of uniform thickness and strength, it eventually breaks up into fragments, the larger of which attracts the smaller into itself, and the whole is formed by its revolving motion into an oblate spheroid circling round the contracted sun in the centre. In this manner, the planet Uranus was shelled off from our sun, which originally filled the whole of the vast sphere, of which the distance from Uranus to the centre of the present sun is but the radius. The planet itself, by the same process of cooling, shrinking, and thus forming exterior rings, threw off successively all its six satellites ; and the sun, also, continuing to contract from the loss of heat, formed another ring, and thus constituted the planet Saturn. In this way were formed successively all the planets and satellites of the present solar system. The original diameter of our earth was equal, of course, to the present diameter of the moon's orbit. In the case of Saturn, the two rings formed around it happened to be of unusual homogeneity and equal thickness, so that they were not broken up, but have preserved their primitive shape. A ring was formed from the sun in the space between the present orbits of Mars and Jupiter ; but when it was broken up, the fragments did not congregate into one, but spherified separately, so as to form the four smaller planets which now revolve in that opening.

Having thus explained the *genesis* of the solar system, we come down to the history of our own earth, since it shelled off the ring which formed our moon. Continuing to cool down and shrink, a thin but rigid crust of primary rocks, still bearing marks of the intense heat to which they have been subjected, was formed upon its surface ; and then the vapors, with which the atmosphere had been charged, were condensed, and formed seas, which covered the whole, or the

greater part, of the earth's rind. The continual agitation of these waters, and their high temperature, as they were still nearly at the boiling point, disintegrated and wore down many of these rocks, and, in the lapse of ages, deposited their remains, in thick layers of sand and mud, at the bottom of the seas. Baked by the heat from beneath, and pressed by the weight of superincumbent waters, these layers slowly hardened into stratified rocks. Forms of vegetable and animal life, though only of the lowest type, the origin of which is to be explained hereafter, now began to appear. Some sea-plants, zoöphytes, infusory animalcules, and a few of the molluscous tribe, all low down in the order of being, but important from their immense numbers and joint action, commenced their work of absorbing the carbonic acid with which the air was overcharged, and building up vast piers and mounds of stone from their own remains. Meanwhile, the internal fires of the earth occasionally broke through the rocky crust that imprisoned them, threw up liquid primitive rock through the rents, and distorted and tilted up the strata that had been formed above.

We may remark, in passing, that the chronology of the events of which we now speak is not very accurately determined; the only thing certain about it is, that a series of ages, so protracted that the imagination cannot conceive their number, elapsed between the successive epochs in the history of the earth's crust. Some of the convulsions caused by the fiery mass within threw up rock above the surface of the waters, and thus the dry land began to appear. Islands were formed, and immediately land-plants made their appearance, of excessive luxuriance, under the tropical temperature that still prevailed all over the globe, and began their office of absorbing carbon, and storing it up for future use. Land-animals as yet were not, for the excess of carbonic acid in the atmosphere rendered it incapable of supporting animal life. But the richness of this island vegetation gradually purified the air; while the decaying plants themselves, being accumulated into vast beds and strata, and subjected, through the changes of the earth's surface, to the pressure of mighty waters, gradually formed immense deposits of coal, for the subsequent service of man. Animals of a higher grade were now formed; fishes became abundant, and amphibious mon-

sters, huge lizards and other reptiles, with an imperfect apparatus of respiration, began to breathe an atmosphere not yet fitted for birds and mammifers.

It is not necessary to trace out the comparatively well known facts and theories of geological science, that are incorporated into this history. It is enough, for the present purpose, to point out a few of the general conclusions of the geologist respecting the several great changes that the earth's crust has undergone, and the distinct races of vegetables and animals which have successively tenanted the earth's surface. These changes and these races have borne a constant relation to each other ; as the scenes shifted, the inhabitants also changed, the latter being always adapted to the circumstances in which they were placed. There has been a constant progress, the soil and the atmosphere becoming more and more fitted for the support of the higher forms of life ; and when all things were thus made ready for them, these higher forms have appeared, and the lower orders of being, which formerly occupied the scene, have entirely died out, so that their remains, entombed in the solid rock, are now the only indications of their past existence. In the era of the primary rocks, as we have seen, there was no organization or life, as there was nothing to support it. In the succeeding period, zoöphytes and mollusca appeared ; these were followed by fishes, and then land rose above the surface of the waters. Land-plants and animals came next, though of a low type ; continually advancing orders of beings, reptiles, birds, and mammifers, suited to the improved condition of things, successively appeared, until, at the latest epoch, man entered upon the scene, the head of animated nature as at present constituted, with powers and capacities well adapted for the full enjoyment of the augmented riches of the earth. And the end is not yet. "The present race, rude and impulsive as it is, is perhaps the best adapted to the present state of things in the world ; but the external world goes through slow and gradual changes, which may leave it in time a much serener field of existence. There may then be occasion for a nobler type of humanity, which shall complete the zoölogical circle on this planet, and realize some of the dreams of the purest spirits of the present race."

The question now occurs, How are we to account for the

origin of *life*, both in the vegetable and animal kingdoms? The answer can readily be given, if we follow out resolutely to their remotest consequences the principles that have already been established. The evolution of natural laws, the necessary action of the qualities with which atoms were at first endowed, has sufficed to produce this complex system of mutually dependent worlds, and all the successive transformations of the earth's rind, which have fitted it for the support of successive races of organic beings. May not the same causes have produced the beings themselves? The one process would seem to be not much more elaborate and intricate than the other. If the inherent qualities of matter have built up a solar system, they may have created, also, the first animalcule, the first fish, the first quadruped, and the first man. There has been a marked progress, in either case, from the chaotic, the rude, the imperfectly developed, up to the orderly, the complex, the matured forms. The first essays, the rude efforts, of nature have gradually been perfected. The chaotic world that was first shelled off from the sun differed not less widely from the admirably furnished planet we now inhabit, than does the zoöphyte, whose remains are not split out of the rock, from man, the present head of the animal tribe. At any rate, geology informs us, that the causes, whatever they may be, which produce life, have been long and frequently in operation. They were not exhausted in the first effort; they are probably still at work throughout the universe. Not merely successive generations, but successive races, both of plants and animals, widely distinguished from each other, have, at different periods, tenanted the earth's surface. Those of which we possess the fossil remains belong, almost without exception, to extinct species. They were crowded out of existence, as it were, by the new forms, more perfectly organized, which came to take their places in the improving condition of things. This continuous agency of the life-producing causes, effecting still higher results by each successive effort, seems to point directly to the gradual expansion and development of the qualities with which matter was first endowed.

We actually see natural agents now at work around us, producing results which counterfeit life, if they do not constitute it. Many substances crystallize into shapes bearing a strong resemblance to vegetable forms, as in the well

known chemical experiment producing the *arbor Dianæ*. The passage of the electric fluid leaves marks that are like the branches and foliage of a tree, and the same fluid exerts a direct influence on the germination of plants. Some of the proximate principles of vegetable and animal bodies, such as urea and alantoin, are said to have been produced artificially by the chemist; and in the combination of the simple elements, such as carbon and oxygen, into these proximate principles, it is now acknowledged that there is no violation of the ordinary laws of chemical affinity. The origin of all vegetable and animal life, so far as it can be traced, is in germinal vesicles, or little cells containing granules. Such are the ova of all animals; and both vegetable and animal tissues are entirely formed from them. When the parent cells come to maturity, they burst and liberate the granules, which immediately develope themselves into new cells, thus repeating the life of their original. Now, it has been asserted, that globules can be produced in albumen by electricity; and *if these globules are true germinal vesicles*, the difficult problem of producing life by artificial means is entirely solved.

But the burden of this part of the theory rests on the evidence that has been produced of late years to favor the doctrine of equivocal generation, or the production of living beings without the agency, either direct or indirect, of parents of the same species. Can such beings, *orphans* in the strictest sense, now be produced or discovered? We have not space to repeat our author's argument on this difficult mooted question in science, nor is it necessary; he sums up the evidence on his own side, and of course finds it satisfactory, though the weight of authority is against him. He adduces the experiments of Mr. Crosse, repeated by Mr. Weekes, who claim to have produced animalcules in considerable numbers, of a species before unknown, by passing a voltaic current through silicate of potash, and through nitrate of copper. The existence of *entozoa*, or parasitic animals, found in the interior of the bodies of other animals, and found nowhere else, is thought to support the same doctrine. The question is, How came they there? Being too large, either in their perfect form, or in the egg, to have passed through the capillary blood-vessels, how came they within the body of another animal, — itself but a few weeks or a few days old,

or even in the embryo stage, — unless they were created there without parentage of their own species ?

These facts and reasonings, it is true, only go to prove, that animalcules, or beings of very small size, and low in the scale of animated existence, can be produced in this way by the inherent qualities of matter. No one will pretend, that a dog, a horse, or a man can thus be created. How can we account for the existence of these larger animals of a higher type, admitted to have been denizens of the earth only since the latest geological epochs, and therefore of comparatively recent origin ? Here we come to another point in our author's theory, — the transmutation of species, or the successive *development* of higher and higher orders of being out of the species immediately below them, through the accidental or natural fulfilment of certain conditions, in the course of a long period of years.

Natural history teaches us, that there is quite a regular gradation among the several tribes of vegetables and animals ; though we may not be able to range all the species, as constantly advancing in a single line, there is certainly the general appearance of a scale, beginning with the most simple, and going on to the most complex forms. While the external characteristics are very different, all are but variations of a single plan, which exists as the basis of all, and is varied in each individual only so as to accommodate it to the conditions under which the individual is to live. The germ of a higher animal — a mammifer, for instance — is the representative of a lower animal full-grown, like the *volvox globator ;* the latter remaining in this initial stage, as an animalcule, through its whole existence ; while the former is developed out of it, by successive stages, into a quadruped, or even into a man. Similar functions are performed in different animals by very different organs, the gills of fishes performing the same office as the lungs of the mammalia ; and these different organs sometimes exist, at different periods, according to the degree of development, in the same animal. Thus, the tadpole, so long as it continues to be a fish, breathes by gills, which disappear and give place to lungs when it becomes a frog. Similar transformations of the insect tribe are familiar to all. Imperfect or rudimentary organs are found in certain animals, as the mammæ of a man ; a particular organ being here developed to a certain extent,

though it is not needed ; but being developed a little further, it becomes useful in the next set of animals in the scale. The same peculiarity is found among plants ; the skilful gardener being able actually to develope these rudimentary organs by supplying the requisite conditions, and thus, as it were, to raise the plant one step in the scale.

" We have yet to advert to the most interesting class of facts connected with the laws of organic development. It is only in recent times that physiologists have observed that each animal passes, in the course of its germinal history, through a series of changes resembling the *permanent forms* of the various orders of animals inferior to it in the scale. Thus, for instance, an insect, standing at the head of the articulated animals, is, in the larva state, a true annelid, or worm, the annelida being the lowest in the same class. The embryo of a crab resembles the perfect animal of the inferior order myriapoda, and passes through all the forms of transition which characterize the intermediate tribes of crustacea. The frog, for some time after its birth, is a fish with external gills and other organs, fitting it for an aquatic life, all of which are changed as it advances to maturity, and becomes a land animal. The mammifer only passes through still more stages, according to its higher place in the scale. Nor is man himself exempt from this law. His first form is that which is permanent in the animalcule. His organization gradually passes through conditions generally resembling a fish, a reptile, a bird, and the lower mammalia, before it attains its specific maturity. At one of the last stages of his fœtal career, he exhibits an intermaxillary bone, which is characteristic of the perfect ape ; this is suppressed, and he may then be said to take leave of the simial type, and become a true human creature. Even, as we shall see, the varieties of his race are represented in the progressive development of an individual of the highest, before we see the adult Caucasian, the highest point yet attained in the animal scale.

" To come to particular points of the organization. The brain of man, which exceeds that of all other animals in complexity of organization and fulness of development, is, at one early period, only 'a simple fold of nervous matter, with difficulty distinguishable into three parts, while a little tail-like prolongation towards the hinder parts, and which had been the first to appear, is the only representation of a spinal marrow. Now, in this state, it perfectly resembles the brain of an adult fish, thus assuming *in transitu* the form that in the fish is permanent. In a short time, however, the structure is become more complex, the parts more

distinct, the spinal marrow better marked ; it is now the brain of a reptile. The change continues ; by a singular motion, certain parts (*corpora quadragemina*), which had hitherto appeared on the upper surface, now pass towards the lower ; the former is their permanent situation in fishes and reptiles, the latter in birds and mammalia. This is another advance in the scale, but more remains yet to be done. The complication of the organ increases ; cavities, termed *ventricles*, are formed, which do not exist in fishes, reptiles, or birds ; curiously organized parts, such as the corpora striata, are added ; it is now the brain of the mammalia. Its last and final change alone seems wanting, — that which shall render it the brain of man.' " — pp. 150 – 152.

Usually, it is true, each species produces only its like, — "every creeping thing and beast of the earth" bringing forth young "*after his kind.*" But the development of a single animal, under the ordinary law, takes place in a few weeks or days ; while the development of distinct races and species is the work of a whole creation, and is spread over countless ages. It is reasonable to suppose, that the latter is effected by means of a higher law, manifesting itself only at long intervals. Its infrequent manifestation is no argument against the regularity and necessity of its occurrence, — against its being a law at all. The comet that visits our system only once in five hundred years is controlled by the same inflexible principle which causes the return of another comet once in five years. The conditions requisite for a development more perfect than usual, — that is, for the production of a new species, — instead of a new individual of the same species, may be fulfilled only at long intervals ; but when they are fulfilled, the result — the more perfect development — takes place as necessarily, as much by the virtue of law, as the more ordinary phenomenon of the propagation of one race. These conditions may be answered in the successive stages of improvement, through which the earth and its atmosphere pass, during the vast periods of time contemplated in geology. In the era of the old red-sandstone, for instance, there were no higher animals than fishes, because the atmosphere was highly charged with carbonic acid, and could not support respiration by lungs. When the air became purer, the gills were changed into the imperfect lungs of the amphibious tribes, such as the huge saurians and the frogs. Deprive these latter animals, in their lower stage, of

all access to the light, and they will not advance to their higher stage. Put a tadpole into a perforated box, and sink it to the bottom of a river, and the animal will never be perfected into a frog; he will grow to an enormous size, but he will continue a tadpole.

We see, then, the process of an "organic creation by law," or by virtue of the inherent qualities of inorganic matter. The ordinary chemical affinities of different substances may draw them together into such compounds as albumen and fibrin, which are the proximate principles of organic tissues. The action of electricity, heat, light, or some other mysterious imponderable agent, on these proximate principles, may produce globules, or germinal vesicles. These germs, multiplying themselves by fissiparous generation, will constitute a stock of animals of a low type, such as a tribe of infusory animalcules. Then "this simplest and most primitive type, under a law to which that of like production is subordinate, gives birth to the type next above it, this again produces the next higher, and so on to the very highest, the stages of advance being in all cases very small, — namely, from one species only to another; so that the phenomenon has always been of a simple and modest character." Thus, the first reptile was born from a fish, the first bird was generated by a reptile, and the first mammifer had birds for its parents. The transformations appear rather astounding, as we pass from one class to another; but the difference between the species, even, is often so great, that the transition appears hardly less difficult. In what quadruped, for instance, do we find the first ancestor of the huge and sagacious elephant? What humble lizard gave birth to those monsters of the fossil world, the plesiosaurus and megalosaurus, thirty or forty feet in length? Man, of course, upon this theory, is only a more perfectly developed monkey, or chimpanzee. With a nod of approbation to Lord Monboddo's theory, our author observes, that man has even the rudiments of "a caudal extremity" in the *os coccygis*.

That the instinct of animals and the mind of man are the results of nothing but material organization is an obvious corollary from this doctrine. "The difference," says this writer, "between mind in the lower animals and in man is a difference in degree only; it is not a specific difference." Mental phenomena, apparently so various and unstable in

the individual, are reduced at once to regularity, and become subject to calculation, if considered in the mass. This shows, that, like the phenomena of the weather, they are under the presidency of natural laws. The phrenologists are the only persons who have followed the order of nature in the study of mind ; they have even determined the functions of the different parts of the brain. An experiment is mentioned with a newly killed animal, whose brain was taken out and its place filled with substances producing electric action, when the process of digestion, that had been interrupted, was instantly resumed, thus "showing the absolute identity of the brain with a galvanic battery." The experiment of inducing muscular action in a corpse, by applying galvanism, is sufficiently well known. To borrow an illustration from Sidney Smith, it would seem, that, if we only knew to what organs of the brain to direct an electric current, an automaton, or a dead man, might be made to hold an argument, "at least as well as most country parsons."

A person who should hear for the first time this naked exposition of the writer's theory would be tempted at once to reject the whole, as too extravagant and absurd to deserve further notice. But he would be much mistaken in this conclusion. The theory is a very plausible one ; it is one of the best cosmogonies that the wit of man has ever framed. It is a revival of the old atheistic hypothesis, — the Epicurean doctrine of the formation of the universe by a fortuitous concourse of atoms, — with all the modifications and improvements that were rendered necessary by the discoveries of modern science. We call it an atheistic theory, because, though the writer supposes that primitive matter was first endowed *by divine power* with its mysterious qualities and capacities, this supposition is gratuitous and arbitrary, and only mars the simplicity of the scheme, and injures the consistency and coherence of the parts with each other. We can more easily believe that these qualities are necessarily inherent in the constitution of matter, forming a part of its very essence, just like the properties of impenetrability and extension, than that they subsequently developed themselves by forming myriads of intricate organizations, without further aid from the divine architect. If we can credit the hypothesis, that bricks and mortar came together of their own accord, and arranged

themselves into the first house meet for the habitation of man, we can very readily admit, also, that the bricks first assumed the proper shape, and mortar the proper tenacity and hardness, without the intervention of human labor and skill. If there is no need of a bricklayer, we may discard also the brick-maker.

Putting aside, therefore, this gratuitous addition to the theory, we come to examine the plausibility of the doctrine which assumes, that material atoms, constituted as they now are, are capable, without oversight or direction, of forming a universe like our own, and producing all the animated tribes which tenant it. In all the atheistic reasoning upon this subject, and especially in the work now before us, there is a constant confusion between *what may be*, for aught we know to the contrary, and *what is*, so far as we are able positively to determine it from our present means of observation and experiment; between the *possibility* that is measured only by human ignorance, and the *probability* that is fairly inferred by the legitimate exercise of the understanding. Effects have unquestionably been produced, such as the formation of a solar system, and the production of new and perfectly distinct orders of being, which we are wholly unable to account for by the *present and ordinary* operation of what are called secondary causes. If a theorist chooses to assume, that these secondary causes, under certain conditions, which we never have seen, and never can see, realized, might produce very extraordinary results, might even fully account for the wonderful effects in question, we have a right to say, in reply, that he is dealing in pure speculation and hypothesis; that, having had no experience under the conditions or postulates of his theory, he is necessarily *speaking from* ignorance and *appealing to* ignorance; that, even if we could not point out a single difficulty, a single false assumption, in his whole scheme and argument, it would still remain a mere hypothesis, alike incapable of proof or disproof; and that, at the best, the arguments brought against it must be of nearly the same wiredrawn, speculative, and far-fetched character with those adduced in its support. On a mere sandbank, unsupplied either with arms or tools, the only edifice that can be built is one of sand, and sand affords the only means for its destruction. The fallacy to which such speculatists constantly have resort is, that the weakness or the entire absence

of all considerations against their theory constitutes a positive argument in its support. No such thing; it affords only a fair presumption of the baseless character of the whole fabric.

This may be made more clear by examples. If a child, who has had little experience of the laws of nature, and has learned nothing from books, is gravely assured by his instructer, that in a distant region of the ocean there is an island where stones fly upward instead of downward, and men walk on their heads instead of their feet, the young philosopher, however acute and ingenious we may suppose him to be, certainly could not offer one valid argument against the alleged fact. He could only stare, and wonder, and say that it might be so *for all that he knew to the contrary.* Just so, when the atheist tells us, that far off in infinite space is a region, of which we can see nothing, even with our best telescopes, except a faint glimmer of light, floating like a cloudlet in the heavens, where the primitive atoms of matter, directed by gravity alone, are slowly congregating together, and forming suns, and planets, and secondary satellites, and giving birth to such intricate harmonies of mutually dependent and revolving worlds as those which have prevailed for ages in our own system; or that, thousands of years ago, the same unassisted laws of matter, which we now see producing only such comparatively meagre and insufficient results, actually caused animalcules to be produced from pure sand, and fishes to be created out of oysters, and birds to be generated by slimy and grovelling reptiles, and men to be born from monkeys;—if he should tell us all this, certainly we could offer no direct confutation of the wonderful tale. In regard to alleged facts of this character, the wisest of men are, and always must be, mere children. But it would be monstrous to say, that this wild assertion derived any support from their admitted bewilderment and incapacity. This would be to attempt to found knowledge upon ignorance. The dim analogies resting on questionable facts, the bold assumptions and slippery arguments on which such daring hypotheses must be based, can be refuted, for the most part, only by reasoning in kind,—by arguments nearly as uncertain, it may be, as those which they are brought to answer. We cannot *prove* a negative; we can only show the insufficiency of the ground on which the opposite assumption is made to

rest; and enough is done for this end, when it is made to appear, that the whole scheme is a *mere* hypothesis.

We make these general remarks only to relieve some readers of this volume from the doubt and perplexity which its perusal may have caused, solely because they were unable to detect any one glaring fallacy or inconsistency in the writer's theory. It appears plausible enough; for, though there is very little in its favor, it seems at first sight as if there was little or nothing to say against it. On closer scrutiny, it will be found, perhaps, that it is disproved by a multitude of considerations, any one of which would be fatal to it; as the hypothesis is of such a character, that, when a single breach is made in it, the whole edifice must tumble. If the intervention of an extraneous cause be absolutely necessary at any one stage or process in the creation, it may as well be admitted in all; the principle must be given up, and the whole purpose of the theist is answered. We shall endeavour to show that this hypothetical history of creation is not only faulty in every point, when viewed from the author's own ground, but, when examined in the proper direction, is absolutely unintelligible, or is in fact no history at all.

Let us look first at the nebular hypothesis. Certain spots and tracts in the heavens, of a whitish color, appearing to the naked eye to be nebulæ, on being examined through a telescope, instantly resolve themselves into a multitude of distinct and perfectly formed stars. Such is the greatest nebula of all, — the galaxy, or milky way. Other spots of a like character, if viewed through glasses of moderate power, still appear as nebulæ; but when seen through more perfect instruments, they immediately seem, like the others, to be a mere crowd of stars. Others, again, are not separated or resolved by the best telescopes; but what is the natural inference from this fact? Surely, we infer that they are merely crowded collections of stars, just like the others, except that they are too distant or too small to be seen as distinct bodies, even with the most powerful instruments that we possess. If telescopes of a greater range should hereafter be constructed, there is every reason to believe that these also will be resolved to the eye into their component parts as stars; and in fact, if newspaper accounts may be credited, when Lord Rosse's new and magnificent telescope was first turned towards some of these spots, which had

always preserved their nebulous appearance when examined by inferior instruments, it was immediately apparent, that they were composed of distinct stars. Yet the hypothesis we are now considering assumes, that these remote and faintly seen nebulæ are not crowds of stars, but primitive luminous matter, the particles of which are slowly congregating together, and forming one new star, or several. Certainly, never was a bold theory built upon a narrower basis. It is due, however, to the two Herschels, the chief supporters of this theory, to say, that they have always spoken of it only as a hypothesis, and by no means as an established fact in astronomical science. And, as a hypothesis, it labors under this peculiar difficulty, that it evidently never can be verified. It must ever remain a *mere* guess, directly opposed by an obvious induction from those nebulæ which are resolvable into perfect stars.

The fact, that one or two bright points, assumed to be centres of aggregation, are seen in some of these nebulæ, is of no importance. If a bright star be seen from this earth in the same line of vision with the nebula, it will be projected on the ground of that nebula, and will appear as a part of it, though it may be many millions of miles on this side, and have no more connection with it than the planet Jupiter would have, if it should happen to be in conjunction with the nebula, and thus appear for a short time to be projected upon its disc.

There is one consideration of some weight, though we have never seen it adverted to, which tends directly to confute the nebular hypothesis. That faint radiance called the zodiacal light, which is seen to stream up in the form of a cone from our sun, is assumed by our author to be a residuum of the nebulous matter belonging to our system, which has not yet been drawn into the sun, though it is on its way thither. Others have supposed, with far more probability, that it is the sun's atmosphere, and therefore its present shape and size will never change, — as they never have changed, during the period in which they have been observed by man. But no matter ; we are now reasoning upon our author's hypothesis. If the zodiacal light be composed of primitive nebulous matter, it must now be comparatively thick and dense, since the process of aggregation has been going on for countless ages, and, in our system, is considered

as nearly completed ; just as when a sediment is forming in a tumbler full of turbid water, after the upper portion of the fluid has become entirely clear, there will be a stratum of water next to the sediment more turbid than the whole was before the deposition began. Yet this light is very faint, when seen only from the distance of our earth ; and at the boundaries of our system, from the orbit of Uranus, for instance, we cannot believe that it is visible at all. Is it likely, then, that a portion of this nebulous matter, in which the process of deposition has hardly begun, and which is seen from a distance so vast, that in comparison with it the whole diameter of our solar system is but a point, would be visible from this earth ? In the case of the other nebulæ, a multitude of perfectly formed suns, uniting their respective beams, are seen only as a faint, whitish speck on the blue arch. And yet we are required to believe, that the luminous matter which will ultimately form but one sun, or perhaps two, while still thinly diffused over an immense tract of space, the process of aggregation having hardly commenced, is yet visible to our eyes at this vast distance.

"Credat Judæus Apella ;
Non ego."

We pass to the next chapter in the history, which pro fesses to explain the gradual formation of a solar system by a process of cooling and shrinking, to which the central orb is exposed. And here we are met by a difficulty at the outset ; for the existence of comets with their very eccentric orbits is wholly irreconcilable with the theory. At their perihelion, many of these bodies pass within the orbit of Mercury, while the aphelion of some lies without the path of Uranus. Where were they, when the body of the sun filled up the whole of the vast sphere circumscribed by the orbit of the remotest planet ? If we suppose that they are late comers, after the rest of our system was perfected, — that they were generated by themselves in distant regions of space, and, having strayed about, orphan-like, for a while, they accidentally crossed our track, and were taken as adopted children into our family, another question remains to be answered. Why did they not remain in their first position, absorb their full share of nebulous matter, beget a respectable family of planets, and take rank as chiefs of their own clan ? These comparatively anomalous bodies are great stumbling-blocks for the *soi-disant* historians of creation.

Again, if an immense orb be formed, the parts of which cohere strongly enough for the whole to turn upon its axis as one body, the process of cooling can go on only from the surface. A crust may finally be formed there ; but we see not how the refrigeration and shrinking of the interior parts can then go on separately, until the mass in the centre finally becomes detached from its envelope, like a shrivelled nut from its shell. Our earth is cooling down at this moment, unless the warmth which it receives from the sun exactly counterbalances the loss by radiation of internal heat. But the exterior and interior do not cool by different radiations, nor is there, so far as we know, the least tendency in the central mass to shrink separately, so as to detach itself from the surrounding crust. As deep as we can penetrate towards the centre, we find the heat regularly increase, — just as we might expect, if the only absolute loss of heat be from the surface.

If the matter now concentrated in the sun, and that which forms the several planets with their secondaries, were all moulded into one mass, and then dilated so as to fill the vast sphere of which the orbit of Uranus forms a circumference, the substance would evidently be in a state of extreme tenuity and diffusion. Immense as the mass of the sun now is, it is but a mere nut at the centre of the grand globe which we are now considering. Expanded to such vast dimensions, we cannot conceive of it as a solid spheroid turning upon its axis, but only as a mass of fluid or vapor, in which a circular motion would generate only vortices or whirlwinds. In such an aggregation of subtile matter, no crust could be solidified on the outer ring, and then detached from the mass within ; indeed, any separation of the parts under such circumstances is inconceivable. Even a rotary motion could not be established in it, except by an impulse received from without ; for there is every reason to believe, that the movement of a homogeneous fluid towards its centre, if it could take place without disturbing causes, would be in radial lines, and not in a spiral.

Our author brings into view all the mathematical proportions and uniform relations which exist between the constituent bodies of the solar system, in order to indicate the probability of their formation from the constant working of one material cause. Thus he remarks, that the primary

planets all move nearly in one plane, and "show a progressive increase of bulk and diminution of density, from the one nearest to the sun to that which is most distant." But he passes over other characteristics of these bodies, equally important, which are quite irregular, and cannot be traced to the operation of one law. Compare the periods of rotation on their respective axes, and we find no correspondence, no indication that the revolving motion was imparted to all by one inflexible law. The first four planets, counting from the sun, perform their rotation in nearly the same time, namely, twenty-four hours. But Jupiter's period is a little less, and Saturn's a little more, than ten hours. Again, Jupiter's axis of rotation is nearly perpendicular to the plane of the ecliptic, while that of Mars is inclined at an angle of fifty-nine degrees forty-two minutes. Another irregularity, still more fatal to the theory, is found in the number of satellites by which the respective planets are attended. Saturn has seven, beside the two rings; Jupiter has four, Mars has none, and the earth has but one. On the single hypothesis, that our system was formed by rings successively thrown off from a central body by a process of refrigeration and contraction, these irregularities are inexplicable. Mars, it seems, did not shrink at all, while Jupiter cast off four separate rings, and the earth produced its single moon. The distances of these bodies from their primaries are also quite irregular; in the case of Jupiter, the outermost of the satellites revolves at a distance which is only twenty-seven times the radius of the primary, and the innermost is distant but six times that radius. This planet, consequently, has shrunk to one twenty-seventh part of its original diameter, and in so doing, has formed four moons; the earth has shrunk to one sixtieth part of its first diameter, and still has produced but one satellite. If the same law had prevailed in the two cases, we ought to have nine or ten moons.

We need not analyze with any great minuteness the geological facts and hypotheses incorporated into this magnificent history of creation. As will be seen hereafter, the violent and sweeping transformations and convulsions that the earth's crust has undergone directly conflict with our author's theory, and afford the strongest presumption, that an extraneous cause has frequently interfered, at different periods, to repair the desolation produced by the unassisted working of

natural laws, to bring order out of chaos, and to people the desert earth anew with animated tribes. The only general fact of much moment, which our author has drawn from the discoveries of geologists, for the confirmation of his own hypothesis, is, according to his own account, one of the most questionable doctrines in the whole science, — one of a negative character, on which we can never rely with full assurance, till the researches of man have probed every fold, and examined every thread in the texture, of the earth's garment, and thus shown that no evidence can possibly be discovered to the contrary. The alleged fact is, that, in the early formations of rock — the first pages in the history of the earth's surface — are found the remains of animals and vegetables only of the lowest type and most imperfect development; while, in the later strata, forms more and more advanced are discovered; so that there seems to have been a constant progress along the line leading to the higher forms of organization. The testimony which goes to support this assertion is wholly negative. The geologist reasons thus: The more perfect organisms have not been discovered in the earlier strata; *therefore*, they do not exist in them. When, in a different connection, it suits our author's purpose to throw doubt on the very postulate which is here admitted, he holds the following language.

"These, it must be owned, are less strong traces of the birds than we possess of the reptiles and other tribes; but it must be remembered, that the evidence of fossils, as to the absence of any class of animals from a certain period of the earth's history, can never be considered as more than negative. Animals, of which we find no remains in a particular formation, may, nevertheless, have lived at the time, and it may have only been from unfavorable circumstances that their remains have not been preserved for our inspection. The single circumstance of their being little liable to be carried down into seas might be the cause of their non-appearance in our quarries." — p. 95.

In truth, the researches of geologists are every day bringing to light new facts, which compel them to modify or abandon many of the positions they formerly held; so that a considerable portion of the science is a mere quicksand of shiftingtheories. We need only allude to the various suppositions respecting the origin of drift, and to the numerous modifications of the glacial theory. Important discoveries have been

made within a short time, showing that certain animal tribes had their origin much farther back than was at first supposed. A few years ago, reptiles were believed to be the highest type of life that existed during the era of the new red sandstone. But Professor Hitchcock's recent discovery in this stone of the footprints of gigantic birds has added a higher class to the zoölogy of the period ; and within a few months, in the same red sandstone of the Connecticut valley, tracks of two or three species of quadrupeds have been found, some of them being probably mammifers of a lower grade. It is true, no fossil remains of these animals have been brought to light ; but this want only renders the discovery more significant for our present purpose. It shows that certain animals must have lived at the period in question, though their remains have not yet been found ; and from the greater age of the rocks then formed, and the consequent greater number of convulsions of the earth's surface to which they have been subjected, these remains may have entirely disappeared. It is a curious fact, also, that the animal remains of that period, which have come down to us, belong to genera so constituted, that their bodies might well survive, if we may so speak, the shocks which would have destroyed every trace of some more delicate, or more finely organized, beings. We find remains of the flint-shielded animalcules, the hard-shelled mollusca, and the cartilaginous fishes ; but the bodies of mammalia, birds, and even the higher species of fishes, some of which we may suppose to have been more tender and corruptible, have utterly perished. Here and there, an individual of their number left the print of its foot on the sand, which subsequently hardened into rock, and brought down to our times a faint vestige of its past existence.

We are not attempting to impugn the credit of geological science in general, which would be a wholly futile task. The multitude of facts respecting the present constitution of the earth's crust, recently made known by laborers in this department, are among the most curious and most pregnant discoveries of modern times. But when we come to the formation of theories respecting the past history of the earth, in order to account for the phenomena at present visible on its surface, we are evidently afloat on a sea of conjecture, each hypothesis being valid only till a more plausible one is proposed, — which happens very frequently, — or till it is ef-

fectually disproved by some new discovery in the rocky strata. A fertile imagination and a bold face are among the most striking traits of our more daring geologists. Grant to one of this character a few modest postulates, — give him certain millions of years, a sufficient number of earthquakes, a whole battery of volcanoes, a few ocean deluges, and the rise and fall of half a dozen continents, — and he will frame a theory off-hand, which will account for the most perplexing phenomena. Our author is certainly entitled to take his place at the very head of this class of speculatists.

In accounting for the work of creation by the natural and unassisted development of the inherent qualities of brute matter, the great difficulty is found at the first link in the chain of animated being. How can we explain the commencement of *life?* We must have a clear idea of the whole scope of this problem, before we can make any attempt at its solution. Life, then, is *not* mere organization, though most materialists, philosophers, like our author, willingly confound the two things; to hear them reason, one would almost suppose that there was no difference between a dead man and a living one. Organization is subservient to life, ministers to it, manifests it, — supports it, if you please, — but does not constitute it. He must be a bolder man than we are, who will undertake to say *what it is;* but we can very safely declare *what it is not;* and in any particular form or aggregation of matter, whether organic or inorganic, we can give a shrewd guess as to its presence or absence. It may be said, that we beg the question by assuming that organization is not life; it may be so; but it is quite too much to allow the materialist quietly to take the opposite doctrine for granted. He must know the full extent of his task, — that it is necessary for him not only to construct the machine, but actually to set it in motion, so that it shall afterwards run on of its own accord. It is very easy to frame a partial definition of life, by merely describing one or two of its characteristic functions; and then, because some action can be detected between the particles of brute matter, which resembles the exercise of these functions, boldly to declare that the whole mystery is solved. Thus it is said, that life is nothing but the accretion of similar substances, or the addition of like unto like; and as this occurs in crystallization, which is confessedly a phenomenon of inorganic matter, therefore there is no fundamental difference

between the properties of living and dead substances. We deny the first proposition; nutrition is not the only characteristic of life, and the nutritive process, whether in vegetables or animals, is not mere accretion, but assimilation. It has been said, though the assertion is by no means fully proved, that assimilation is only a finer kind of chemistry, the constituent principles being brought together only by their natural affinities. Even if this were true, if the stomach and the digestive apparatus were only a well furnished chemical laboratory, fit for conducting the most delicate experiments, the great difficulty would still remain. The question might yet be asked, Where is the chemist? And this is the fundamental question, which the materialists never attempt to answer, but quietly evade.

The difference between an inorganic and an organic body has been explained by Coleridge clearly enough for our purpose. In the former, — a sheaf of corn, for instance, — the whole is nothing more than a collection of the individual parts; in the latter, — an animal, — the whole is the effect of, or results from, the parts. In the latter case, the whole is every thing, and the parts are comparatively nothing. One of the great effects of life is to keep the parts in subjection to the whole, making them contribute to its support and growth, and thus maintaining the unity of the system. The stomach digests, the lungs inhale air, the heart beats, and the blood circulates; and as the joint effect, or as the common supporter, — it matters not which, — of these operations, *life* continues, and the animated being is a unit; it has not merely virtual, but essential unity. The reciprocal action of the respiratory, circulating, and nervous systems is absolutely necessary to life. The animal dies, and this unity, this subservience of the parts to the whole, immediately ceases. In the functions of the living body, it may be that the ordinary laws of chemistry are preserved, and that the elements of carbon, oxygen, and hydrogen combine and separate according to their ordinary affinities, and in no unusual proportions. But after death, at any rate, quite a different set of chemical laws come into play, and produce a result which is the very opposite of that before effected. There is no longer any unanimity or coöperation; instead of sustaining or building up the animal tissues, the affinities now in operation tear down, destroy, and resolve them into their ultimate ele-

ments, — each part following out its own law of destruction or resolution, irrespectively of the others.

"There is in living organic matter a principle constantly in action, the operations of which are in accordance with a rational plan, so that the individual parts which it creates in the body are adapted to the design of the whole; and this it is which distinguishes organism. Kant says, 'The cause of the particular mode of existence of each part of a living body resides in the whole, while in dead masses each part contains this cause within itself.' This explains why a mere part separated from an organized whole generally does not continue to live; why, in fact, an organized body appears to be one and indivisible. And since the different parts of an organized body are heterogeneous members of one whole, and essential to its perfect state, the trunk cannot live after the loss of one of these parts." — *Müller's Physiology*, Vol. I., p. 19.

The apparent exceptions to this statement — as in the case of the polypes, which multiply by fissiparous generation, or by spontaneous division of their bodies into parts, each part becoming a perfect animal — are only apparent. These creatures, which are low down in the scale of being, exemplify what Mr. Owen calls "the law of vegetative or irrelative repetition," as they have many organs performing the same function, and not related to each other by combination for the performance of a higher function. Thus, a Polygastrian has many assimilative sacs, each performing the office of a stomach irrespective of the rest. In the insect tribe, the respiratory function, instead of being performed by one set of lungs for the whole body, is carried on through a series of minute and highly ramified tubes, which traverse every part of the body, and open to the air by a great number of orifices. In some instances, both respiration and digestion seem to take place over the whole surface of the body; for Trembley found at least one case, in which the animal digested its food equally well, after it had been turned inside out. A number of similar parts being repeated in each segment of the individual, the body can be divided, and the several portions, each still containing some of all the organs essential to the whole, will continue to live separately. The severed parts will even continue to grow, and to develope other organs convenient for individual existence. But most animals, especially the more perfect, do not constitute an ag-

gregate of similar parts united by one trunk, and therefore propagation by division is in them impossible. The ovum, when separated from the parent, is an entire animal only *potentially ;* during its development, the essential parts which constitute the *actual* whole are produced. In the case of the polype, we have only to suppose that the ovum remains connected with the parent being, till all, or nearly all, its essential parts are produced. It is then shed not as a mere ovum, but as an animal nearly or wholly complete.

Now, all the instances adduced by our author, to show similarity of action in the organic and the inorganic world, are irrelevant. The analogies are not merely imperfect ; they are no analogies at all. Crystals increase by the aggregation of new particles on the external surfaces of the parts already formed ; there is no consentaneous operation of the parts on the whole. The molecules of crystals are homogeneous throughout, and the several aggregates of these molecules are independent of each other ; while organized bodies are composed of parts perfectly dissimilar from each other, but all of which conspire to one end. "The growth of organized bodies," says Müller, "takes place in all particles of their substance at the same time, while the increase of the mass in inorganic bodies is produced by external apposition." Frostwork on the windows may resemble vegetable *forms ;* but it has no resemblance whatever to vegetable *life*. Electricity may counterfeit the *action of life*, for a moment, on a particular limb, by causing the muscles to twitch ; but it does not counterfeit *life itself*, by causing all the parts again to contribute to the sustentation of the whole. A French chemist, by electric action, may have produced *globules* in albumen ; there is nothing very wonderful in that ; any one may blow bubbles in a viscid fluid. The resemblance between these globules and proper germinal vesicles amounts to nothing more than similarity of outward shape ; there is no more real resemblance between them than between the oval lump of chalk which farmers sometimes put into a hen's nest, in order to deceive poor Dame Partlet, and the real egg which the hen deposits by the side of it. Certainly, the imponderable agents, heat, light, and electricity, are in some mysterious way *connected with* life, so as to contribute to its support ; there is nothing more in this assertion than in the familiar proposition, that a seed will germinate only under the

proper conditions of soil and climate ; but that these agents, acting on inorganic matter, ever *create* or *commence* life is a pure hypothesis, not supported even by the shadow of a fact.

Having thus shown how weak are the general considerations in favor of the theory, that animated beings may be created out of inorganic matter by mere natural laws, we should proceed to consider the direct evidence adduced to prove that life has actually been produced in this way. Here the whole question is opened respecting the alleged instances of equivocal generation, and we have neither space nor ability to discuss them at length. Those who are curious respecting the question may find a brief summary of the evidence on both sides in a former number of this Journal.* We can mention only a few facts and arguments, which show the extreme improbability of the doctrine supported by our author and a few other theorists.

In the first place, it is remarkable, that all the races of animated beings, which are entirely within the range of our powers of observation, — which have such a size and locality that we can study and accurately determine their organization and habits, — are unquestionably produced from parents of their own kind. Only the minute microscopic animals are now supposed to be generated spontaneously ; and this alleged fact rests not on direct proof, but only on our inability in certain cases to trace the process of their production in the ordinary way. As many of these animals, in their perfect state, are not more than the twelve thousandth part of an inch in diameter, it is not much to be wondered at, that we should not be able in all cases to discover their ova, or to follow these ova through all their stages of development into the complete being. It is farther remarkable, that these animalcules, when once produced, whether by spontaneous or natural generation, are all found to be provided with the organs or requisite means for continuing their species, and, in fact, for multiplying their number from themselves with astonishing rapidity. As they certainly have children, it seems reasonable to suppose, according to the analogy of all the higher animated tribes, that they also had parents. The ancients supposed, that the worms and insects which appear

* *N. A. Review*, Vol. LVI., pp. 339 – 351.

in decaying organic matter were generated there by the decomposition of the substance, without the previous agency of individuals of the same stock. Every schoolboy is acquainted with Virgil's mode of obtaining a new swarm of bees from the decaying carcass of a heifer. Subsequent researches, made with more care, and perhaps with better instruments of observation, have entirely disproved the hypothesis, and show that the maggots were produced in every case from eggs deposited by flies or other insects, and were afterwards themselves developed into the state of perfect insects. Then it seems reasonable to believe, that the improved observations of future times will clear up the only remaining difficulty, and show how the infusory animalcules also are generated from beings of their own kind.

These minute creatures are prolific to a degree that transcends all calculation; and they exist, either in the egg or maturely developed, in inconceivable numbers. A single wheel-animalcule, *Hydatina senta*, which was watched for more than eighteen days, and which lives still longer, is capable of a fourfold increase in twenty-four or thirty hours; a rate of propagation which would afford in ten days a million of beings. From their tenacity of life, extraordinary powers of reproduction, and incalculable numbers, their united influence may be said to be far more important, in all the great operations of nature, than that of the larger and more perfectly developed organisms. They swarm in all the seas, and play an important part in choking up harbours and forming great deposits at the mouths of rivers. The remains of those which have perished form great beds and strata in the crust of the earth. The silicious stone, called Tripoli, is entirely composed of such remains; at Bilin, in Bohemia, there is one stratum of this substance, fourteen feet thick, one cubic inch of which is estimated to contain forty-one thousand millions of individuals. Their extreme tenacity of life is evinced by the fact, that many of them may be entirely desiccated, and preserved in pure sand for several years, after which, on the application of a drop of water, they may be restored to life. In this dried state, M. Doyère exposed some of them to a heat equal to that of boiling water, and afterwards revived them; though, in an active state, if subjected to a much lower temperature, they perish. If, then, the fully developed and mature can resist such powerful ex-

traneous causes of destruction, how much more must the ova possess the power of enduring them without losing their latent life! The following extract from Professor Owen's Lectures shows the bearing of these facts upon the question of equivocal generation.

"The act of oviparous generation, that sending forth of countless ova through the fatal laceration or dissolution of the parent's body, is most commonly observed in the well-fed *Polygastria*, which crowd together as their little ocean evaporates; and thus each leaves, by the last act of its life, the means of perpetuating and diffusing its species by thousands of fertile germs. When the once thickly tenanted pool is dried up, and its bottom converted into a layer of dust, these inconceivably minute and light ova will be raised with the dust by the first puff of wind, diffused through the atmosphere, and may there remain long suspended; forming, perhaps, their share of the particles which we see flickering in the sunbeam, ready to fall into any collection of water, beaten down by every summer shower into the streams or pools which receive or may be formed by such showers, and, by virtue of their tenacity of life, ready to develope themselves wherever they may find the requisite conditions for their existence.

"The possibility, or, rather, the high probability, that such is the design of the oviparous generation of the *Infusoria*, and such the common mode of the diffusion of their ova, renders the hypothesis of equivocal generation, which has been so frequently invoked to explain their origin in new-formed natural or artificial infusions, quite gratuitous. If organs of generation might, at first sight, seem superfluous in creatures propagating their kind by gemmation and spontaneous fission, equivocal generation is surely still less required to explain the origin of beings so richly provided with the ordinary and recognized modes of propagation."— pp. 31, 32.

Recent accounts show, that the dust collected from the atmosphere at sea, many miles from land, generally contains some of these dried animalcules and their ova. Many of these germs can be developed only in particular localities, or under certain conditions which are rarely fulfilled. Consequently, if there were but few of them, the species might perish, because those few might not find their appropriate home. But such an accident is guarded against by the vast multiplication of these germs and their wide dispersion; for, unlike all the higher tribes of beings except man, the same species is often found in all regions of the globe. Very few, in comparison with the whole number, may find a proper *nidus;* but these

few then propagate with such marvellous rapidity, as fully to replenish, if not to increase, the original stock. Thus they have been enabled, as species, to survive even those destroying causes which exterminated all the higher forms of animals. Several species still exist, which were in being at the time of the cretaceous formation, though all the other animated races belonging to that period have perished. "These animalcules," says Ehrenberg, "constitute a chain, which, though in the individual it be microscopic, yet in the mass is a mighty one, connecting the organic life of distant ages of the earth."

In view of facts like these, we may surely say, that the existence of the infusory animalcules, and even of the entozoa, is conceivable, supposing they could only have been produced by parents of their own kind, and without having recourse to the anomalous and hypothetical doctrine of equivocal generation. We may not be able to trace their line of parentage, for our imperfect vision cannot follow the motes which play in the sunbeam, nor track them from their birthplace to their final home. But we know that they must be deposited in every layer of dust that falls from the atmosphere, that they must be inhaled with every breath which an animal draws, and be swallowed with every morsel and drop of its food. The experiments which seem to prove that living beings may be produced from pure inorganic matter are all explicable on the supposition, that adequate precautions were not taken to exclude every animal and germ capable of development from the substances experimented upon, and from the air which was admitted into the apparatus. On this ground, the experiments of Crosse and Weekes, cited by our author, have been quite generally rejected by scientific men, as hardly deserving of notice. We learn that the former was "discouraged by the reception of his experiments," and "soon discontinued them"; — with good reason, for it does not appear from our author's account, that he adopted any precautions at all. Mr. Weekes seems to have been a little more cautious, and the consequence was, that he did not observe any appearance of life among the substances experimented upon for "eleven months," at the end of which time we may reasonably suppose, that his precautions ceased to have perfect effect. The only experiment, in which adequate means to guard against causes of error were taken, was

that of Professor Schulze, of Berlin, which had a contrary result. We extract Mr. Owen's account of it.

"He filled a glass flask half full of distilled water, in which were various animal and vegetable substances: he then closed it with a good cork, through which were passed two glass tubes, bent at right angles, the whole being air-tight: it was next placed in a sand bath, and heated until the water boiled violently. While the watery vapor was escaping by the glass tubes, the Professor fastened at each end an apparatus which chemists employ for collecting carbonic acid: that at the one end was filled with concentrated sulphuric acid, and the other with a solution of potash. By means of the boiling heat, it is to be presumed that every thing living, and all germs in the flask or in the tubes were destroyed; whilst all access was cut off by the sulphuric acid on the one side, and by the potash on the other. The apparatus was then exposed to the influence of summer light and heat; at the same time, there was placed near it an open vessel, with the same substances that had been introduced into the flask, and also after having subjected them to a boiling temperature. In order to renew constantly the air within the flask, the experimenter sucked with his mouth several times a day the open end of the apparatus, filled with the solution of potash, by which process the air entered his mouth from the flask through the caustic liquid, and the atmospheric air from without entered the flask through the sulphuric acid. The air was of course not at all altered in its composition by passing through the sulphuric acid in the flask; but all the portions of living matter, or of matter capable of becoming animated, were taken up by the sulphuric acid and destroyed. From the 28th of May until the beginning of August, Professor Schulze continued uninterruptedly the renewal of the air in the flask, without being able, by the aid of the microscope, to discover any living animal or vegetable substance; although, during the whole of the time, observations were made almost daily on the edge of the liquid; and when, at last, the Professor separated the different parts of the apparatus, he could not find in the whole liquid the slightest trace of *Infusoria* or *Confervæ*, or of mould; but all three presented themselves in great abundance a few days after he had left the flask standing open. The vessel which he placed near the apparatus contained on the following day *Vibriones* and *Monads*, to which were soon added larger Polygastric *Infusoria*, and afterwards *Rotifera*." — pp. 32, 33.

For readers who are not familiar with these subjects, it may be well to mention, that the weight of authority is decidedly against this doctrine of spontaneous generation. It is

rejected by Müller, who ranks among the first physiologists of Germany; by Ehrenberg, one of the most distinguished microscopists in the world; and by Owen, who stands at the head of the school of comparative anatomy in England, if not in Europe. The remark made by Cuvier, more than thirty years ago, is still true at the present day, that, "although the impossibility of spontaneous generation cannot be absolutely demonstrated, yet all the efforts of those physiologists who believe in the possibility of it have not succeeded in showing us a single instance."

Passing over, then, our author's theory of the origination of life from inorganic matter as utterly untenable, we come to the next point in his system, — the most chimerical of all, — the gradual development of the higher orders of being out of those next beneath them in the scale. It is not pretended, that there is *any known instance* of the transmutation of species, or of the evolution, in the ordinary way, of any being specifically different from its parents. The same animal, indeed, may pass through different grades of development; but these changes affect only the individual, not the race. The progeny of this animal must begin at the same point where its parent did, and run precisely the same cycle. The tadpole becomes a frog, but the young of that frog are tadpoles; the worm becomes a winged insect, but the eggs of that insect are hatched into nothing but worms. These changes in the life of the individual, like the successive periods of the embryotic state, of infancy, and manhood in the human being, are perfectly consistent with persistence of type in the race, and do not indicate even the possibility that a new species may be developed out of an old one. On the contrary, the germ must be considered as *potentially* equivalent to the whole future being, for it is invariably developed into that being. If there be any one fact unquestionably established by observation, it is that each species invariably produces its like. "All the phenomena," says Müller, "at present observed in the animal kingdom, seem to prove that the species were originally created distinct, and independent of each other. There is no remote possibility of one species being produced from another."

The doctrine of our author, then, is confessedly a pure hypothesis, and, as such, it might be summarily dismissed into the region of cloud-land and dreams, where it had its

origin. The burden of proof is upon him, and as he has failed to produce a single instance in which his theory is exemplified, he may be rightfully debarred the privilege of discussion. But waiving this point, if we look into the grounds of his conjecture, we find bold assumptions more than once substituted for the plain statement of facts, which would destroy every shade of credibility in his doctrine. True, there is an appearance, both in the animal and vegetable kingdoms, of an ascending scale of being, from simply organized forms and imperfect developments up to the complex arrangements and nice adaptations of the advanced tribes. But the progress is not regular, nor are the intervals of constant length. The line is often broken and doubled, and, in fact, the individuals are far more naturally arranged in a number of parallel lines, beginning successively at a somewhat lower point, than in a single series. Man, of course, is placed at the head of the animal tribes ; but the interval which separates him from the chimpanzee cannot easily be cleared at one bound. He forms but one genus, and that genus is the only one of its order. But even if the line of gradation were single and perfect, the fact would be of no service to the hypothesis we are now considering ; for the interval between two species most nearly allied to each other seems to be quite as impassable as the broadest gulf of separation.

The point chiefly relied upon to show the credibility of this doctrine is the fact, according to our author, that the higher animals pass through a series of changes resembling the permanent forms of the lower tribes. The first form of man himself "is that which is permanent in the animalcule"; and thence he comes to resemble successively a fish, a reptile, a bird, and the lower mammifers, before he attains his specific maturity. It is held, then, that a premature birth from an animal of a higher kind might have instituted a new race of a lower type ; and that a birth unusually delayed, permitting an embryo to be still farther advanced in the line of organization, might have created a new species of a higher order than the parent. Here, every thing depends on the *absolute identity* of the germs of all animals, in the lower stages of their growth. General resemblances and analogies are of no weight whatever ; the essential internal organization of the ova of different species must be the same ; otherwise, however ripened into a mature being, whether the birth be

advanced or postponed, the individual must still belong to its parents' species, of which it possesses the distinctive peculiarity. Now, this point of *the identity of germs is a mere assumption;* not only is it destitute of proof, — the whole evidence is against it. There is a degree of outward resemblance, but there is no sameness. When we trace the origin of life back to the remotest point to which our powers of observation extend, when we come to microscopic vesicles that can be discerned only by the highest magnifiers, general similarity of outward shape is all that can be predicated of them. The specific differences lie below this general resemblance of outward form ; we cannot discern them, but we *know* that they must exist, and that they are *essential* differences, for each one of these vesicles is invariably developed, if at all, into an individual of the species to which its parent belongs. The germinal vesicles of a tree and a quadruped are somewhat alike, outwardly ; so, to the hen's eyes, there is no difference between her own eggs and the duck's eggs which the farmer's wife has put into her nest. But when she has hatched her brood, part of them are found to be web-footed, and these, to her great astonishment and distress, immediately take to the water. Our author commits the same blunder as the poor hen. This want of consciousness that he has got to the end of his tether, this inability to believe that any difference can exist where he is not able to see it, though it is invariably indicated by future consequent differences of the most striking nature, is perfectly characteristic of the rash theorist in science.

The assertion, that man's "first form *is* that which is permanent in the animalcule," — even if we do not look to the potentiality of development into a higher being, which experience shows to exist in the human germ, but not in the infusorial, — is a positive misstatement. The lowest monad has a mouth and means for propagating its kind, which do not belong to the primitive ovum of any higher animal. About the succeeding stages in the growth of the embryo our author's language is more cautious. He only says, that they *resemble*, or *typify*, some of the lower orders of being ; and this is virtually admitting a specific difference, and giving up his own theory for all the conditions posterior to that of the germ. The brain and heart of the embryo successively *resemble* the corresponding organs in a fish, a reptile, a bird,

and a quadruped ; but they are not identical, *even in outward appearance*, with those organs. Of course, if arrested at any stage of its growth, and prematurely born, the embryo would not be one of the lower animals, but only something resembling it in outward shape ; and conversely, if it were possible for the birth of a bird to be delayed till it had reached a higher stage of development in the same line in which it was proceeding, it would not become a quadruped, but it would be an anomalous creature somewhat like one. Consequently, no one species now on the earth can have been evolved out of any other existing race ; because the germs of any two, at a very early stage in their history, according to our author's own confession, are specifically unlike.

To avoid this difficulty, he is driven to a further supposition, still more gratuitous and improbable ; namely, that the germ destined to become one of a different race from its parents, having advanced along its usual line of development so far as that line coincides with the one belonging to the new species, there diverges, and follows a different path up to the period of its birth into a new creature ; that is, the embryo of a reptile, having grown for a certain time as if it were to be a reptile, suddenly turns aside, like a young man changing his mind about the choice of a profession, and for the rest of its fœtal life follows the proper line of progress in order to be developed into a bird. This is mere dreaming, and reminds one only of the wonderful transformations effected by enchantment in an Arabian tale. We might just as plausibly suppose, that the reptile, after it became mature, was suddenly transformed into a bird, as that it underwent this change before it was hatched. All the evidence attainable goes to show, that the law of development is as immutable before as after birth, the several stages of progress succeeding each other in a constant order, and affecting the individual only, not the race. A young monkey is no more likely to be transmuted into a man than an old one ; nor is such a metamorphosis at all more probable in the course of its fœtal life.

The view we have now obtained of the specific differences between distinct races of being at separate periods of their existence is precisely what might have been anticipated from the law of gradual development, which holds throughout the organic kingdoms. Between two mature animals, these

differences are perfectly obvious and well marked. As we go a step back in their history, the distinction becomes a little more obscure ; two worms may resemble each other very closely, though the two winged insects subsequently produced from them may be very unlike. Receding still farther, some of these specific differences may entirely disappear, the organs or parts which should exhibit them being not yet developed. And when we come to the primitive germs, so minute as to be visible only through the microscope, no outward distinction, perhaps, is any longer perceptible, and the radical difference of their internal organization is indicated only by the fact, to be verified by subsequent observation, that the two are invariably developed into perfectly distinct animals, belonging respectively to the same races with their parents. A theorist, whose whole system is based upon the invariable operation of natural agencies, cannot reasonably object to this conclusion.

That our statements in the course of this argument may not appear of the same questionable character as those advanced by our author, we will fortify them with a few brief citations from a work of such unquestionable authority as the Lectures of Professor Owen.

"No doubt the minute infusoria, which seem to have their development arrested at the first or nearest stage from the primitive cell formation, offer close and striking analogies to the primitive cells out of which the higher animals and all their tissues are developed ; but the very [first] step which the infusoria take beyond the primitive cell stage invests them with a specific character as independent and distinct in its nature as that of the highest and most complicated organisms. No mere organic cell, destined for ulterior changes in a living organization, has a mouth armed with teeth, or provided with long tentacula ; I will not lay stress on the alimentary canal and appended stomachs, which many still regard as 'sub judice' ; but the endowment of distinct organs of generation, for propagating their kind by fertile ova, raises the polygastric infusoria much above the mere organic cell."—pp. 25, 26.

"In comparing the several stages in the very interesting development of the *cyanœa aurita* to the infusoria and polypes, it must be understood that such comparisons are warranted only by a similarity of outward form, and of the instruments of locomotion and prehension. The essential internal organization of the

persistent lower forms of the *zoöphyta* is entirely wanting in the transitory states of the higher ones. A progress through the inferior groups is sketched out, but no actual transmutation of species is effected. The young medusa, before it attains its destined condition of maturity, successively resembles, but never becomes, a polygastrian, a rotifer, and a bryozoon." — p. 112.

"Thus every animal in the course of its development typifies or represents some of the permanent forms of animals inferior to itself; but it does not represent all the inferior forms, nor acquire the organization of any of the forms which it transitorily represents. Had the animal kingdom formed, as was once supposed, a single and continuous chain of being, progressively ascending from the monad to the man, unity of organization might then have been demonstrated to the extent in which the theory has been maintained by the disciples of the Geoffroyan school." — p. 370.

If these similarities of structure in the germ had any bearing on the subject, they would indicate the possibility only of retrogression in the scale. Of course, the immature ovum, arrested in its development, could not form a more perfect being than its parent. There is no pretence that the embryo, at any stage of its progress, images an animal of a higher grade than its own family. Then what aid do these similarities of structure afford to the theory, that all the higher organisms have been evolved by successive steps out of the lowest monad? At the best, you have only shown, that a *retreat* is possible; you have still to point out any likelihood, even the remotest, of an *advance* in the scale of being. There is no fact whatever to confirm the supposition, that birth may possibly be delayed till the animal be developed into one of a higher species; and the law of immature births seems to be, that, if the offspring escapes at all, — for there is great risk consequent on such an accident, — it becomes as perfect as its progenitors. Nature seems to guard the distinctions between the several races with peculiar care; so far as we know, monsters either do not survive their birth, or are incapable of continuing their kind, or in the course of a single generation are reunited to the original family.

To say that these laws, distinct and invariable as far as the observation of man has extended, may possibly have been superseded in the lapse of ages by a higher principle, mani-

festing itself only at long intervals, is again to have recourse to a blank hypothesis, incapable alike of proof or disproof, and unsupported by the faintest intimations from the world of experience. To build up a theory in this way is not to account for the work of creation by the natural agencies and inherent qualities of matter, *as at present observable*, but to fly off to the wild supposition, that matter and life were more richly endowed ages ago than they are in our own day. You affirm, that this higher principle of development did not override the inferior laws at the earlier periods in time's history, because, in the infancy of the universe, the conditions were wanting which are requisite for its manifestation, — because the earth was not ready, the atmosphere was not purified, for the nobler races of being. Very well ; but these conditions are answered *now*. All things are ready at the present day for the innate energies of matter to put forth their utmost strength. Why do not fishes generate reptiles, and birds produce mammifers, *now* ? Ah ! but " the earth being now supplied with both kinds of tenants in great abundance, we could only expect to find the life-originating power at work in some very special and extraordinary circumstances." It seems, then, that these inherent qualities of matter, once supposed to be blind, absolute, and invariable in their operation, are really very judicious and reasonable ; they suit the supply to the demand, and actually cease working when the market is likely to be overstocked. The results of such " *natural* agencies " as these are very like the effects produced by the volitions of a wise and thinking being.

It happens that we are not obliged to grant to our author an indefinite lapse of ages for the sake of bringing all his higher principles into action. One of the latest events in the geological history of the earth was a great submersion of the land, by which " terrestrial animal life was extensively, if not universally, destroyed " ; so that the creation of the species now in being — at least, all the higher species — was " a comparatively recent event, and one posterior, generally speaking, to all the great natural transactions chronicled by geology." Science does not contradict, it rather confirms, that voice of revelation or tradition, which assigns about six thousand years as the period of man's residence upon the earth. The action of the drama, then, is restricted within

moderate limits as to time, and the "natural agencies" and "higher principles" must work fast in order to accomplish their task within the prescribed period. One condition for the creation of a new and permanent species, belonging to any of the higher orders, seems to have escaped our author's notice; at least two individuals, a male and a female, must have been evolved out of the next lower race, before the new species could continue its kind. Apply these considerations to the creation of man, who, according to our author's Scripture, was born of a monkey. To suppose, that, at the first trial, an Adam and an Eve were born near each other, so that they might have a chance of meeting in the course of their lives, would look too much like the operation of intelligence and design. On the theory of an organic creation by law, as the monkey race is spread over large regions of the globe, we must suppose that many of each sex were produced, and died childless, before any Adam was happy enough to find an Eve. Then, at no very distant period, within a few thousand years, the birth of a man from an animal of a lower type was no very strange event. Probably it occurred so often, that the monkeys themselves ceased to be astonished at it. And yet, this tribe of animals, with all the benefit of large experience, with increased numbers, and with all the requisite conditions fulfilled at least as perfectly as they were at the earlier period of their history, have not succeeded, in the three or four thousand years during which they have been subject to the observation of intelligent beings, in producing even a decent semblance of a man.

With the exposure of this crowning absurdity, we must close our direct examination of this "History of Creation." We have not room to consider some of the appendages to the theory, such as the assertion of the essential unity of the human and the brute intellect, the denial of the immaterial nature of mind, and the advocacy of the system of phrenology. These absurd and degrading doctrines are naturally connected with the atheistic hypothesis we have been considering. They are its legitimate children. But they have already been refuted so often and so conclusively, that any revival of them at the present day is hardly deserving of notice. If we should stop here, then, it may fairly be left to the judgment of our readers, whether we have not fulfilled the pledge given at the outset, by showing that this theory is

faulty at every point, even when viewed from the author's own ground. The proposal of it is no new thing. In one or another form, varying in particulars, but agreeing in substance, it has been before the world ever since the days of Democritus, and more especially of his follower, Epicurus. Lucretius clothed it in sonorous and majestic verse, for it is a theme fitted above all others to excite the fancy, and to receive the richest embellishments from the imagination. Modern authors have promulgated it again and again, with little other change than what was requisite to adapt it to recent improvements in science, and to engraft upon it some of their own favorite hypotheses and fancies. The version of it by the French naturalist Lamarck was the latest and the most in vogue, till the appearance of the present volume. So frequently has it been confuted, that the revival of it at this late period seems little more than a harmless exercise of ingenuity, a poetical and scientific dream, and one need hardly take the pains to expose its assumptions and fallacies. The violent suppositions which it involves only remind one of the remark quoted from Pascal on a former page, that "unbelievers are the most credulous persons in the world." If set forth only as a novel and pleasing fancy, it may be classed with other ingenious fictions, that are published without a thought of deception. But if seriously proposed, it can be fitly characterized only by borrowing the homely but energetic language of Dr. Bentley.

"And now that I have finished all the parts which I proposed to discourse of, I will conclude all with a short application to the atheists. And I would advise them, as a friend, to leave off this dabbling and smattering in philosophy, this shuffling and cutting with atoms. It never succeeded well with them, and they always come off with the loss. Their old master, Epicurus, seems to have had his brains so muddled and confounded with them, that he scarce ever kept in the right way; though the main maxim of his philosophy was to trust to his senses, and follow his nose. I will not take notice of his doting conceit, that the sun and moon are no bigger than they appear to the eye, a foot or half a yard over; and that the stars are no larger than so many glow-worms. But let us see how he manages his atoms, those almighty tools that do every thing of themselves, without the help of a workman. When the atoms, says he, *descend* in infinite space (very ingeniously spoken, to make high and low in infinity), they do not fall plumb down, but decline a little from the perpendicular,

either obliquely or in a curve; and this declination, says he, from the direct line is the cause of our liberty of will. But, I say, this declination of atoms in their descent was itself either necessary or voluntary. If it was necessary, how then could that necessity ever beget liberty? If it was voluntary, then atoms had that power of volition before; and what becomes then of the Epicurean doctrine of the fortuitous productions of worlds? The whole business is contradiction and ridiculous nonsense." — *Bentley's Works*, Vol. III., pp. 47, 48.

Custom and convenience lead us to speak of the "laws" of nature, and of the "powers and forces" of brute matter; and few persons, in adopting these phrases, are aware that they are using a figure of speech. Yet nothing is more certain than that all the researches of science have not been able to point out with certainty a single active cause apart from the operation of mind. We discern nothing but regularity and similarity of sequences; and the attribution of these effects to some occult qualities in the atoms or molecules in which they are manifested is wholly hypothetical, and even, when closely examined, is inconceivable. For this reason we affirm, that the theory of our author, professing to account for the whole work of creation "by the operation of law," is not only unsound and baseless in its particulars, but, when scrutinized as a whole, is absolutely unintelligible. *He attempts to account for a string of hypothetical effects, such as spontaneous generation and the transmutation of species, by a series of hypothetical and inconceivable causes, such as the energies of lifeless matter.* Let any one conceive, if he can, of any *power*, *energy*, or *force* inherent in a lump of matter, — a stone, for instance, — except this merely negative one, that it always and necessarily remains in its present state, whether this be of rest or motion. Let him point out, if he can, the *nexus* between what are usually denominated cause and effect in matter, — as when two bodies are drawn towards each other, if they are in opposite states of electricity. When he says that it is the *nature*, or *law*, of bodies thus electrified to attract each other, he offers no explanation of the phenomenon; he only refers it to a class of other results, of a similar character, previously observed. It is not pretended, that all or any of these results, formerly known, are more intelligible or explicable than the one in question. But the latter is classed with them, because, from their

general similarity, from their taking place under the same outward circumstances, it is reasonably supposed that *one* cause, whatever it may be, is common to them all. And this is the whole business of the student of nature, to place together results which are so similar, that we may attribute them to a common cause, without assuming to know what that cause is. The sole office of science is the theory, not of causation, but of classification. It is all reducible to natural history, the essence of which consists in arrangement.

We are not attempting to perplex a plain matter of science by introducing into its discussion a metaphysical subtilty. The principle here contended for is one of the first dictates of the inductive philosophy, and as such it has been frankly acknowledged and acted upon by all the great improvers of science in modern days. When Newton discovered that the planets circle round the sun in the same manner in which a stone thrown by the hand describes a curve before reaching the earth, he may be said to have *explained* the former phenomenon by bringing it into the same class with certain results which have long been familiar to us. But the explanation was only relative, not absolute. The latter phenomenon is, in reality, no more explicable than the former; he did not pretend to know the *cause* of the stone's falling to the ground, any more than of the revolution of the planets. It was something to be able to arrange these apparently heterogeneous results in the same class, and gravity was a convenient name to apply to the whole. But the supposition, that gravity was an occult cause, inherent in matter, he earnestly repelled, and declared that it was "inconceivable." * Franklin showed, that a thunder-cloud and the charged conductor of an electrical machine manifested the same phenomena, and might therefore be classed together; sparks were obtained from both,

* "It is inconceivable, that inanimate brute matter should, without the mediation of something else, which is not material, operate upon and affect other matter without mutual contact, as it must, if gravitation, in the sense of Epicurus, be essential and inherent in it. And this is one reason why I desired you would not ascribe innate gravity to me. That gravity should be innate, inherent, and essential to matter, so that one body may act upon another at a distance through a *vacuum*, without the mediation of any thing else, by and through which their action and force may be conveyed from one to another, is to me so great an absurdity, that I believe no man, who has in philosophical matters a competent faculty of thinking, can ever fall into it. Gravity must be caused by an agent acting constantly according to certain laws." —*Newton's letter in Bentley's Works*, Vol. III., pp. 211, 212.

Leyden jars were charged from them, other bodies were attracted and repelled in a similar way, so that it was reasonable to believe that the same agency was acting in both cases. What this agency was he did not even guess. The *cause* of electric action, whether in the excited cloud, or the excited tube, was just as obscure as ever. Chemists observed, that different substances, when brought into close contact, sometimes remained distinct, and sometimes united with each other in various but regular proportions ; and these capacities of coalescing with one class of bodies, and of remaining unaffected by another, are called chemical "affinities." This is a convenient generalization, and has properly received a specific name ; though the common appellation throws no light on the *cause* of the phenomena, which remains an impenetrable secret. To say that certain action is *caused* by the operation of chemical affinities is only to arrange it with a large class of other observed appearances, equally obscure as to their origin and essential character.

Let us go a step further, and suppose that the progress of discovery has made known certain facts lying behind the phenomena in question, to which they may all be referred. Let us suppose, that all bodies which gravitate towards each other are found to be embosomed in a subtile, ambient fluid, which connects them, as it were, into one system ; that the positive and negative states of electricity are resolvable into the presence of two fluids standing in certain relations to each other ; and that substances show chemical affinity for each other only when they are in opposite electrical conditions. Still, we have only advanced a step in the generalization, and the real, efficient *cause* of the appearances is still hidden from us by an impenetrable veil. Gravitation is now referred to the communication of motion by impulse ; electricity, to the combination and separation of different fluids ; affinity, to the attraction or repulsion of these fluids. The latter classes of phenomena are more general, but not a whit more explicable, than the former. We have now fewer causes to seek for, but not one of these few has been discovered. When we have resolved electricity or gravitation into the presence of an elastic medium, it is a mere figure of speech to say, that we have discovered the *cause* of the electric phenomena or of gravity. That is just as far off as ever ; for we have yet to discover the principle whence flow *neces-*

sarily all the phenomena observable in fluids. It is the sole end and the highest ambition of science to discover as many as possible of the relationships which bind facts together, and thus to carry the generalization to the farthest point. Its office is not to discover causes, but to generalize effects. The investigation of real causes is quite given up, as a hopeless undertaking.

Observe, now, how all the phraseology employed in speaking of these successive generalizations of science is borrowed from the action of mind. The word *action* itself has no real significance, except when applied to the doings of an intelligent agent; we cannot speak of the *doings* of matter, as we could if the word *action* were applicable to it in any other than a figurative sense. Again, in speaking of the similarity of facts and the regularity of sequences, we refer them to a *law* of nature, just as if they were sentient beings acting under the will of a sovereign. Parts of pure matter — the chemical elements, for instance — do not *act* at all; being brute and inert, it is only by a strong metaphor that they are said to be subject to law. Again, we attribute *force*, *power*, &c., to the primitive particles of matter, and speak of their natural *agencies*. Just so, we talk of *tone* in coloring, and of a *heavy* or *light* sound; though, of course, in their proper significance, tone belongs only to sound, and heaviness to gravitating bodies. These modes of speech are proper enough, if their figurative character be kept in view; but it is a little too bad, when a whole scientific theory is made to rest upon a metaphor as its sole support. *Agency* is the employment of one intelligent being to act for another; *force* and *power* are applicable only to will; they are characteristic of volition. It is a violent trope to apply either of these words to senseless matter. Chemical *affinities* are spoken of, as if material elements were united by family ties, and manifested choice, and affection or aversion.

An obvious corollary from these remarks is, that all *causation* is an exertion of mind, and is only figuratively applied to matter. It necessarily implies power, will, and action. An efficient cause — we are not speaking now of a mere antecedent — is that which is necessarily followed by the effect, so that, if it were known, the effect might be predicted antecedently to all experience. Cicero describes it with philosophical accuracy. "*Causa ea est, quæ id efficit, cujus est causa.*

Non sic causa intelligi debet, ut quod cuique antecedat, id ei causa sit; sed quod cuique EFFICIENTER *antecedat. Causis enim efficientibus quamque rem cognitis, posse denique sciri quid futurum esset.*" Now, in the world of matter, we discover nothing but antecedents and consequents; the former are the mere signs, not the causes, of the latter; no necessary connection — no connection at all, except sequence in time — can be discerned between them. Consequently, from an examination of the former, we could not determine *a priori*, that they must be followed by the latter, or by any other result whatever. Our knowledge here, if knowledge it can be called, is wholly empirical, or founded on experience. As we have seen, it is absurd to say, that one atom of matter literally *acts* on another. On the other hand, in the world of mind, we are directly conscious of action, and even of causation. All mental exertion is true action; every determination of the will implies *effort*, or the direction and use of power. The result to be accomplished is preconsidered, or meditated, and therefore is known *a priori*, or before experience; the volition succeeds, which is a true effort, or a power in action; and this, *if the power be sufficient,* is *necessarily* followed by the effect. Volition is a true cause; but in a finite mind it is not always an *adequate* cause. If I will to shut my eyes, the effect immediately follows as a necessary consequence. But if I will to stop the beating of my heart, or to move a paralyzed limb, the effect does not follow, because the power exerted is inadequate to the end proposed. The action of the will is still *causative*, but it is *insufficient.*

It was from overlooking the distinction here made, that Hume, Kant, and other metaphysicians were led to deny all knowledge of causation even in the action of mind. They confounded sufficiency with efficiency, and supposed, because the power did not always accomplish the end proposed, that it did not tend towards it, or exert any effect upon it. As the sufficiency of the volition can only be known *a posteriori*, or after experience, they imagined that there could be no cause but that which is infinite, or one which is invariably followed by the whole effect contemplated. They overlooked the fact, that, in the consciousness of *effort*, — as in the attempt to control the action of mind, to command the attention, &c., — we have direct and full evidence of *power*

in action, which is necessarily causal in its nature. The mental *nisus* is true force, exerted with a foreknowledge of the effect to be produced, and necessarily followed by a result, — a partial one it may be, — but one which is a true effect, whether it answers the whole intention, or not. Here, then, we discern that necessary connection between two events, that absolute efficient agency, which was vainly sought in the world of matter.

If these considerations are well founded, the whole framework of what are called "secondary causes" falls to pieces. The laws of nature are only a figure of speech; the powers and active inherent properties of material atoms are mere fictions. Mind alone is active; matter is wholly passive and inert. There is no such thing as what we usually call the course of nature; it is nothing but the will of God producing certain effects in a constant and uniform manner; which mode of action, however, being perfectly arbitrary, is as easy to be altered at any time as to be preserved. All events, all changes, in the external world, from the least even unto the greatest, are attributable to his will and power, which, being infinite, is always and necessarily adequate to the end proposed. The laws of motion, gravitation, affinity, and the like, are only expressions of the regularity and continuity of one infinite cause. The order of nature is the effect of divine wisdom, its stability is the result of divine beneficence.

> "Estne Dei sedes nisi terra, et pontus, et aer,
> Et cœlum, et virtus? Superos quid quærimus ultra?
> Jupiter est quodcunque vides, quocunque moveris."

It may be asked, if divine power, instead of operating immediately throughout the universe, might not have endowed material atoms at the outset with certain properties and energies, the gradual evolution of which in after ages would produce all the phenomena of nature, without the necessity of his incessant presence, agency, and control. Certainly, we may not put bounds to omnipotence; though we may assert of a given hypothesis respecting its exercise, that it is inconceivable, or involves wholly incongruous ideas. The necessary attributes of matter, according to our conception of it, are extension, figure, impenetrability, and inertness; the properties of mind are thought, sensation, activity, and will. These attributes are essential, not arbitrary or contingent; for they make up our whole idea of the substances in which

they inhere. We can no more suppose them to be interchangeable, than we can literally attribute dimensions to an odor, or capacity to a sound. To speak of an extended thought, an impenetrable sensation, an inert activity, is to talk nonsense; it is equally absurd to attribute thought to extension, sensation to figure, activity to inertness,* or causal agency to matter. True, mind may be superadded to matter, without being confounded with it, and without any exchange of properties. And in fact, this is the only conceivable form of the hypothesis now before us; namely, the theory of the ancient metaphysicians, that every particle of matter and every aggregate of it is accompanied, or animated, by a distinct mind. "*Ea quoque* [*sidera*] *rectissime et animantia esse, et sentire atque intelligere, dicantur.*" If this be a more intelligible and plausible supposition than that of one infinite mind, pervading the universe, and producing all physical changes by its irresistible power, the materialist is welcome to the benefit of it.

As respects the manner in which all physical effects are produced by the direct action of the Deity, we are not bound to offer any explanation, as the subject confessedly transcends the limit of the human faculties. It is enough for us, that the supposition is the only conceivable one, the only mode of accounting for the phenomena of the material world. But as man is made in the image of his Creator, in the union for a time of his spirit with his corporeal frame we may find at least an intelligible illustration of the connection of God with the universe. Discarding the word *mind*, as the fruitful source of vague speculation and error, let us look for a moment at that of which it is a mere synonyme, — at the man himself. The sentient, thinking being, which I call *self*, is an absolute unit. Duality or complexity cannot be predicated of it in any intelligible sense. Personality is indivisible; *I* am *one*. This being is capable of acting in different ways; and for convenience of speech and classification, these modes

* And yet, so strong is the propensity to metaphor, that scientific men talk of the *vis inertiæ* as a true force, though the ideas expressed by the two Latin words are certainly incongruous. The mistake here arises from confounding inertness, or resistance to force, — a merely negative idea, — with the true force which is necessary to overcome it; or rather, since force can only be measured by its results, and must always be adequate to the effect produced, inquirers have adopted the convenient hypothesis of two antagonistic forces, not always recollecting that one of them is merely passive.

of action have been arranged as the results of different faculties; though, in truth, it is no more proper to attribute to the person distinct powers and organs for comparison, memory, and judgment, than to give to the body separately a walking faculty, a lifting faculty, a jumping faculty, and so on. In the one case, these faculties are but different aspects of mental power; in the other, but different applications of muscular strength. Of course, the complex material frame, with its numberless adaptations and arrangements, in which this being is lodged, is truly foreign from the man himself, having a kind of connection with him, in reality, but one degree more intimate than that of his clothes. The body is the curiously contrived machine through which the man communicates with the material world. The eye is but his instrument to see with, the ear is his trumpet for communicating sound to him, the leg is his steed, and the arm his soldier. Many of these instruments and parts may be removed, or become unfit for use, without impairing, in the slightest degree, his distinct personality and intelligence. The particles of all of them are in a state of constant flux and renovation, so that man changes his body only a little more frequently than he does his coat. His whole corporeal frame is connected with him but for a while, and is then thrown aside, like an old garment, for which he has no farther use.

But during the period of its existence, how close and intimate in appearance is this union with the body! Sensation extends to every part of it, every fibre is instinct with life, and the direction of the will is absolute and immediate over every muscle and joint, as if the whole fabric and its tenant were one homogeneous system. The will tires not of its supremacy, and is not wearied with the number of volitions required of it to keep every joint in action, and every organ performing its proper function. It would not delegate the control of the fingers to an inferior power, nor contrive mechanical or automatic means for moving the extremities. Within its sphere, it is sole sovereign, and is not perplexed with the variety and constant succession of its duties, extending to every part of the complex structure of which it is the animating and directing spirit. Sensation is not cumbered with the multitude of impressions it receives, nor is the fineness of perception dulled by repeated exercise. The sharpness of its edge rather improves by use, and we become

more heedful of its lightest intimations. Is it irreverent, then, to suppose that this union of body and soul shadows forth the connection between the material universe and the Infinite One? How else, indeed, can we attach any meaning to the attributes of omnipresence and omnipotence? The unity of action, the regularity of antecedence and consequence in outward events, which we commonly designate by the lame metaphor of *law*, then become the fitting expression of the consistent doings of an all-wise Being, in whom there is no variableness, neither shadow of turning. The Creator, then, is no longer banished from his creation, nor is the latter an orphan, or a deserted child. It is not a great machine, that was wound up at the beginning, and has continued to run on ever since, without aid or direction from its artificer. As well might we conceive of the body of a man moving about, and performing all its appropriate functions, without the principle of life, or the indwelling of an immortal soul. The universe is not lifeless or soulless. It is informed by God's spirit, pervaded by his power, moved by his wisdom, directed by his beneficence, controlled by his justice.

> "Spiritus intus alit, totamque infusa per artus
> Mens agitat molem, et magno se corpore miscet."

The harmony of physical and moral laws is not a mere fancy, nor a forced analogy; they are both expressions of the same will, manifestations of the same spirit.

The objection, that it is beneath the dignity of the Almighty — *αὐτουργεῖν ἅπαντα* — to put his hand to every thing — is founded on a false analogy, as is seen by the form in which Aristotle states it. "If it befit not the state and majesty of Xerxes, the great king of Persia, that he should stoop to do all the meanest offices himself, much less can this be thought suitable for God." The two cases do not correspond in the very feature essential to the argument. An earthly potentate, unable to execute with his own hand all the affairs of which he has control, is obliged to delegate the larger portion of them to his servants; selecting the lightest part for himself, he gratifies his pride by calling it also the noblest, though the distinction is factitious, there being no real difference, in point of honor or dignity, between them. Omnipotence needs no minister, and is not exhausted or wearied by the cares of a universe. Power in action is more truly sublime than power in repose; and surely it is not derogatory to di-

vine energy to sustain and continue that which it was certainly not beneath divine wisdom to create and appoint. Rightly considered, to guide the falling of a leaf from a tree is an office as worthy of omnipotence, as the creation of a world. "Are not two sparrows sold for a farthing? and one of them shall not fall on the ground without your Father. But the very hairs of your head are all numbered."

Equally lame is the oft-repeated comparison of the universe to a machine of man's device, which is considered the more perfect the less mending or interposition it requires. A machine is a labor-saving contrivance, fitted to supply the weakness and deficiencies of him who uses it. Where the want does not exist, it is absurd to suppose the creation of the remedy. Human conceptions of the Deity are for ever at fault in imputing to him the errors and deficiencies which belong to our own limited faculties and dependent condition. Hence the idea of the Epicureans, that sublime indifference and unbroken repose are the only states of being worthy of the gods. Viewed in the light of true philosophy, no less than of Christianity, how base and grovelling does this conception appear! The sublime description of the pagan poet becomes the fitting expression and defence of the very theory it was designed to controvert: —

> "Nam (proh sancta Deûm tranquillâ pectora pace,
> Quæ placidum degunt ævum, vitamque serenam!)
> Quis regere immensi summam, quis habere profundi
> Indu manu validas potis est moderanter habenas?
> Quis pariter cœlos omneis convertere? et omneis
> Ignibus ætheriis terras suffire feraceis?
> Omnibus inque locis esse omni tempore presto?
> Nubibus ut tenebras faciat, cœlique serena
> Concutiat sonitu? tum fulmina mittat, et ædeis
> Sæpe suas disturbet?"

Returning to the theory of our author, may we not now characterize it as at once unfounded in its details, inconceivable in its operation, and vulgar and mechanical in its design? Considered in their proper aspect, and by the light of a sound philosophy, whatever well accredited facts or legitimate deductions he has gleaned from the whole field of modern science afford the most striking evidence and illustration of that view of creation which is directly at variance with his own hypothesis. He has, in fact, exposed the insufficiency of what are called organic or mechanical laws to supply the losses, and bridge over the interruptions, that have occurred

in the world's history. Geology has rendered at least one signal service to the cause of natural religion, by effectually doing away with the old atheistic objection, that, for aught we know, the present constitution of things never had a beginning, but has gone on for ever renewing itself in an endless series of generations. Science now tells us distinctly, that time was when "the earth was without form and void," no animated thing appearing "upon the face of the deep"; that afterwards, "the waters were gathered together unto one place, and the dry land appeared." Then "the earth brought forth grass, and herb yielding seed *after his kind*, and the tree yielding fruit, whose seed was in itself, after his kind." Next was fulfilled the command, "Let the waters bring forth abundantly the moving creature that hath life, and fowl that may fly above the earth in the open firmament of heaven." Then appeared "the beast of the earth after his kind, and cattle after their kind, and every thing that creepeth upon the earth after his kind." Last of all, "God created man in his own image, male and female created he them." We are not merely quoting Scripture; we are repeating the facts positively affirmed by the geologists, and incorporated by our author into his "history" — as authentic leaves taken from the "stone book" — *in the same order* in which they are narrated in the first chapter of Genesis. The coincidence in the order of succession is certainly remarkable.

Geology farther informs us, that, at different times, all the animated tribes which had peopled the earth's surface passed away, or became extinct, and were replaced by new species of different organization and characteristics; and probably at many other periods, as well as on occasions of some great catastrophe in the earth's crust, races wholly unlike any that had preceded them were introduced, from time to time, as new inhabitants of the globe. Here, then, was an absolute necessity for the continuous operation of an intelligent creative power, apart from the blind mechanical laws, which, at the utmost, could only allow each species, once introduced, to continue its kind. The marvellous adaptations of these new races to the altered conditions of the earth's surface when they appeared, then, become additional proofs of the wisdom and constant oversight of a designing Creator. They came not till all things were ready; they appeared when the extinction

of former tribes had left a gap for them in the scale of being. The gradual development of what are called the powers of nature, — or, to speak more intelligibly, the successive improvements in the habitations intended for higher and higher races of animated life, — and the similarity of plan on which these races were organized, the scheme being preserved in all its essential features through countless generations, show unity of design, and prove that the works of creation, however separated in time, must be attributed to *one* intelligent author. The same conclusion follows almost irresistibly from the gradations at present observable both in the animal and vegetable kingdoms, so that all the races may be arranged, not indeed in a linear series, but in families or groups, bearing analogous relations to each other, and showing a general progress from the more simple to the more complex forms. Surely, these facts, so clearly explained by our author, instead of sustaining the corpuscular philosophy, directly militate with it, and afford the most satisfactory proof of the doctrine of the theist, and the theory of continuous divine agency. We have hardly ever met with a book that furnished more complete materials for its own refutation.

After all, the question is a very simple one. We have only to decide whether it is more likely, that the complex system of things in the midst of which we live, — the beautiful harmonies between the organic and inorganic world, the nice arrangements and curious adaptations that obtain in each, the simplicity and uniformity of the general plan to which the vast multitude of details may be reduced, — was built up, and is now sustained, by one all-wise and all-powerful Being, or by particles of brute matter, acting of themselves, without direction, interference, or control. We cannot now say, that possibly the system never had a beginning, but has always existed under the form in which it now appears to us; geology has disproved *that* supposition most effectually. Choose ye, then, between mind and matter, between an intelligent being and a stone, for the parentage and support of this wonderful system. For our own part, we will adopt the conclusion of one of the most eloquent of those old pagan philosophers, on whose eyes the light of immediate revelation never dawned: — "*Hic ego non mirer esse quemquam, qui sibi persuadeat, corpora quædam solida atque individua vi et gravitate ferri, mundumque effici ornatissimum et pul-*

cherrimum ex eorum corporum concursione fortuitâ ? Quòd si mundum efficere potest concursus atomorum, cur porticum, cur templum, cur domum, cur urbem non potest, quæ sunt minus operosa, et multò quidem faciliora ? Certè ita temerè de mundo effutiunt, ut mihi quidem nunquam hunc admirabilem cœli ornatum, qui locus est proximus, suspexisse videantur."

ART. VIII. — *Memoirs of the Marquis of Pombal ; with Extracts from his Writings, and from Despatches in the State-Paper Office, never before published.* By JOHN SMITH, Esq., Private Secretary to the Marshal Marquis de Saldanha. London : Longmans. 1843. 2 vols. 8vo.

NOTWITHSTANDING her diminutive territory, Portugal has played a most important part in modern history. Her annals are crowded with events and achievements of the most romantic interest. The original Celtic population was not unknown to the Phœnicians, Carthaginians, and Greeks ; and, with the other inhabitants of the Peninsula, they fell under the arm of all-conquering Rome, and adopted the institutions and civilization of the mistress of the world. The country was afterwards overwhelmed by the Northern barbarians, who poured like a deluge over the fairest portions of the Roman empire. Suevians, Goths, and Vandals successively invaded and occupied the land ; and, in the eighth century, the Saracens, whose genius, culture, and character powerfully influenced the intellectual condition of nearly all the South of Europe, conquered the Peninsula and established themselves in it as sovereigns. The victories gained over these intruders by Henry of Burgundy, and by his son Alphonso, who was saluted king on the famous field of Ourique, laid the foundation, early in the twelfth century, of the independent monarchy of Portugal. The progress of the nation during the next three centuries was rapid and brilliant. The monarchy was consolidated by the constitution and laws of the Cortes of Lamego ; its territories were enlarged by successive conquests ; the extravagant pretensions of the clergy

were curbed ; commerce, manufactures, and agriculture were carefully cherished, and the wealth of the country was vastly augmented ; schools and colleges were founded, and learning enjoyed the favor of several accomplished princes. Foreign conquests and colonial establishments, on which arose the subsequent greatness of Portugal, were begun ; the immense body of Jews, who had been cruelly driven out of Castile, brought their wealth, their arts, and their learning, and added them to the resources of the rapidly growing kingdom. The southern cape of Africa was discovered by Diaz, and with a prophetic feeling was named the Cape of Good Hope ; and those Eastern voyages were made which were the first step towards the stupendous discovery of a new continent by Columbus.

These great actions and events were followed by a period of commercial prosperity, extending nearly to the close of the sixteenth century, when Portugal fell under the dominion of Spain, and began a rapid descent from her power and greatness. The misgovernment, cruelty, and oppression of Spain broke down the prosperity of the dependent realm, and exposed her to a long succession of misfortunes, until the revolution of 1640 restored her independence, and replaced on the throne the ancient royal family in the person of the Duke of Braganza. This revolution was followed by a war with Spain, which was terminated by a treaty of peace in 1668, when the relations of Portugal with the other powers of Europe were reëstablished. The close connection of England with Portugal, which has had such a powerful influence on the political fortunes of the latter country, was consolidated by the treaty of 1703, negotiated by the English ambassador, Mr. Methuen. The long reign of John the Fifth (Joaõ V.) has but little interest for the student of history in general ; the principal events which it added to the domestic annals of Portugal were the limitations imposed upon the Inquisition, the foundation of an Academy of Portuguese History, and the establishment of a Patriarch at Lisbon.

The literary annals of Portugal are full of interest, and deserve more attention from scholars than has usually been extended to them. The formation of the Portuguese language runs back to an earlier date than that of the Castilian ; and though inferior to the latter in sound and dignity of movement, — though its pronunciation is deformed by the nasal

twang, which it borrowed from the "politest nation in Europe,"—yet it is melodious, rich, delicate, and expressive, and well suited to every species of literary composition. The cultivation and development of the national language became an object of patriotic pride to the Lusitanian people; and they soon rendered it, by its simplicity, clearness, and conciseness, superior to the Spanish as a language for conversation. And in the present age, while the political influence of Portugal is nearly extinct, her language still survives as the general medium of commercial intercourse in India and Africa.

The Portuguese have made successful attempts in every department of literature; in some departments they have acquired enduring renown. The most ancient monuments of their poetry belong to the twelfth century; and the two following centuries witnessed great progress in the development of the powers of the language, under the patronage of poetical monarchs like Dionysius, Alphonso the Fourth, and Pedro the First. But the great age of Lusitanian poetry, as well as the heroic age of Lusitanian adventure, began with the fifteenth century. Then were produced the songs of the hundred and fifty poets of the *Cancioneiro*, discovered in 1790. At the close of that century and the commencement of the next, flourished Ribeyro, the bard of pastoral life, and his imitators. In the first half of the sixteenth century, appeared the classic Ferreira, who wrought the very pathetic story of Iñez de Castro into a tragedy, on the model of the Greek; and despite the awkward adaptation of the antique chorus to a modern subject, it contains passages of great tenderness and beauty. This century is also illustrated by the names of Caminha, Gil Vicente, Diogo Bernardes, and, above all, by the mighty genius of Camoens,—

> "One of the few, the immortal names,
> That were not born to die."

The noble character, the daring enterprises, the unexampled sufferings, and the miserable death of this richly gifted man, who is at once the glory and the disgrace of the Lusitanian name, form one of the saddest chapters in the sad history of poets and scholars. But in his immortal epic he left to his country a perpetual possession of honor and fame. The "Lusiad," notwithstanding the great defects of its plan, the absurd intermingling in the machinery of the poem of the

pagan mythology with the conceptions of the Catholic church, and several other *obligato* classical pedantries, is yet an imperishable monument of the highest poetical genius, and makes the name of Portugal for ever honored in the history of literature. It is replete with that national spirit, that exulting enthusiasm for the heroic achievements of the fatherland, which constitutes the soul of epic poetry. It embodies a great national enterprise with a dignity of style, harmony of numbers, richness of imagination, and copiousness of invention, which belong only to the Muse's loftiest strains. It is a work which is more national in its character than any other people of modern Europe possesses. Italy has noble poems of the narrative epic kind ; but even the "Jerusalem Delivered" is not so national in its tone and subject as the "Lusiad." What has France to place against the varied music of the "Lusiad," except the droning monotony of Voltaire's "Henry the Fourth" ? What can Germany set by its side except that grim and gaunt old song of mystery and blood, the "Nibelungenlied" ? Spain has many epics besides the long poem of Ercilla ; but, national prejudice apart, even the "Araucana" is rather a versified military journal of Spanish-Indian wars, with here and there a bright gleam of poetry, than a poetical transfiguration of great and heroic deeds. The Portuguese have shown themselves not unworthy of the great boon their illustrious countryman has bestowed upon them. They have published numerous editions of the poem, one of them in a most sumptuous style ; their best scholar, Maria y Souza, has written long and laborious commentaries upon it ; and the genius of Camoens keeps alive, through all the vicissitudes of national disaster, the pride and spirit of patriotism, and the sense of national glory.

The dramatic works of Gil Vicente were the predecessors of the Spanish and English theatre. Lope de Vega and Calderon formed their systems upon the ruder works of this old Portuguese Plautus. Nor is Portuguese literature deficient in other kinds of poetry, though this is not the place to enter upon a particular enumeration of them. The authors of Portugal have not been so successful in cultivating the severer graces of prose. Among them are many historians of great industry and learning ; but they are generally deficient in taste and a critical spirit.

We have rapidly touched upon a few of the interesting

points in the history of Portugal, before the reign of Joseph the First, and the administration of the Marquis of Pombal, whose life forms the subject of the volumes, the title of which is placed at the head of the present article ; and we shall now proceed to give some account of their contents.

Sebastian Joseph de Carvalho e Mello, afterwards the Marquis of Pombal, was born May 13, 1699, at Soure, a village near the town of Pombal. His father was a country-gentleman of moderate fortune, and on his mother's side he was connected with some of the most distinguished families in Portugal. He studied at the University of Coimbra, and afterwards entered the army, which, however, he soon left, and occupied himself with the study of history, politics, and legislation. In 1733, his talents and acquirements attracted the notice of some persons of distinction, and he was appointed a member of the Royal Academy of History. About this time, he became acquainted with Dona Theresa de Noronha, a rich widow, and the niece of the Count dos Arcos. Her haughty relations having rejected his advances with contempt, he cut the matter short by an elopement. Determined to prove to them that he had not unworthily aspired to an alliance with their family, he returned to court, and made such good use of his tact and abilities, that, in 1739, he was sent as ambassador to England. He performed the duties of his mission with exemplary fidelity, obtained important commercial and other privileges for his countrymen, and devoted whatever leisure time he could command to the study of the principles of government, and to the history of the administrations of Sully and Richelieu, and to the financial system of Colbert. He was thus making efficient preparation for the distinguished part he was destined afterwards to play on the theatre of European politics.

Pombal was recalled from the court of Saint James in 1745, and remained some time at Lisbon, unconnected with the public service. He was busy in making a close examination of the action of the Portuguese government and the condition of every department of the state. Before the end of the year, however, he was sent to conduct a delicate and difficult negotiation, in which the pope, Benedict the Fourteenth, had sought the mediation of Portugal ; for a dispute had arisen between the see of Rome and the court of Vienna, which threatened a serious rupture in the Church.

Pombal succeeded in arranging the difficulty to the satisfaction of both parties. During his residence at the court of Vienna, he received intelligence of the death of his wife; and before returning to Portugal, he gained the hand of the young Countess Leonore Ernestine Daun, a relative of the celebrated Marshal Daun. The marriage ceremonies were performed at Vienna under the immediate auspices of the Empress Maria Theresa, who ever after continued a firm and faithful friend to the Marquis and his amiable wife.

He left Vienna early in 1750, and Dom Joseph, having ascended the throne, soon after invited him to assume the portfolio of Foreign Affairs. From this moment dates the long and distinguished administration which has made the name of Pombal illustrious in the history of the monarchy of Portugal. He had long been maturing in his mind important measures of reform. Several years were given to the amelioration of the internal government, and to bringing the finances of the country into order. But the most important measure, which occupied the early part of Pombal's administration, was the wise and humane restriction which he laid upon the power of the Inquisition. This terrible tribunal had never exercised in Portugal the crushing sway under which the proud and chivalrous heart of Spain had groaned. The active intercourse of the Portuguese with other nations had inspired them with more liberal and generous feelings, and had presented formidable obstacles to the enactment of those awful scenes of blood which had made the capital of Spain the horror of the world. Yet the detestable spirit of religious persecution had at times presented to the public gaze the spectacle of the miscalled *auto-da-fé*. The biographer of the Portuguese statesman remarks: —

"Pombal saw that such an institution as the Inquisition was perfectly incompatible with the progress of the arts, the existence of science, or the presence of liberty, and resolved, at whatever hazard, to reduce the authority of that miscalled Holy Office. So early, therefore, in his ministry as 1751, a decree regulating its practices was promulgated. By this decree, it was enacted, that no *auto-da-fé* was henceforward to take place, and no executions were to be carried into effect, without the consent and approbation of government, which reserved for itself, as a court of appeal, the province of inquiry and examination, and of confirming or reversing the sentence, according as it appeared

right or wrong on the face of the evidence. By this effectual blow the office of the Inquisition was humbled, and from thenceforward it dwindled down to the rank of an ordinary tribunal ; — a fact which compels us to admire the wisdom which conceived, and the courage which carried out, so bold a stroke of policy, in the execution of which so many fierce opponents were to be subdued, and so many virtual enemies were to be created. But, with that invincible perseverance which distinguishes the genius of a statesman, Pombal carried his measures, notwithstanding the virulence of superstition, the power of the priesthood, and the prejudices of the people." — Vol. I., pp. 65, 66.

Other interests of the kingdom pressed immediately and strongly on the attention of Pombal. The defences of the country were in such a miserable state, that Algerine corsairs could approach within a few miles of Lisbon, insulting the capital with perfect impunity. The active minister caused large appropriations to be made, and, infusing his own energy into this branch of public service, soon placed the public defences on a proper footing. The encouragement of domestic manufactures and the development of national industry occupied a large share of his enlightened attention ; and the measures he adopted for the promotion of these cardinal objects of a wise administration of government were attended with extraordinary success. The wealth of the country was rapidly augmented ; population increased in an unprecedented ratio; and an activity, energy, and happiness were spread among the people, such as they had never known before. Some of his further reforms are compendiously described by his biographer, but we have no space to notice them.

These various measures of the minister were not carried without the violent opposition of the nobility and the clergy. But he had the good fortune to enjoy the confidence of the monarch, and to triumph over the calumnies and machinations of his enemies, the plots of the Jesuits, and the hatred of the aristocracy. In the midst of these enlightened measures of economical reform, occurred that terrible national calamity, the earthquake of Lisbon. We can quote but a small part of the description of that catastrophe.

" Never did the sun, in the balmiest of southern climes, rise with more brilliancy than on the memorable 1st of November, 1755. . . . . It was the morning of All Saints' Day, and the de-

vout population of Lisbon were hurrying to attend divine worship in the numerous churches, which on that day, according to custom, were brilliantly illuminated in honor to the festival, when, at four minutes after nine, the first convulsive shocks were perceived; and soon after, this proud city became a heap of undistinguishable ruins. The astonished people, who were not buried in the first fall, terrified and confounded, rushed forth tumultuously to avoid the threatened immolation; and with confused shouts and half-expressed prayers, implored favor from the Most High, while falling edifices, or yawning chasms, on every side crushed or ingulfed them with a fearful and relentless certainty. Some fled to the water, in the hope of safety: but their hope was vain; for the river, violently agitated by the mighty shocks of the earth, rose to an extraordinary height: its impetuosity increased with its bulk, until it became swollen to a torrent, and, bursting its banks, swept away all within its reach. Vast ships sunk beneath the troubled surface of its angry waves; whilst others, torn from their anchors, and hurled round with furious precipitation, disappeared in the vortex, or, driven furiously against each other, were dashed to pieces by the violence of the shocks.

"To increase the horrors of this sad scene, whilst the temples of the living God, and the palace of the noble, and the dwelling of the artisan were mingling in one common ruin, fires appeared in various places at one and the same moment, raging with unchecked fury, and threatening to consume all that the earthquake had spared. If, even at this distance of time, the excess of the general misery is too painful to dwell long upon, how terrible must have been the scenes of individual suffering!

. . . . .

"Lisbon, however, was not the only city that suffered by the earthquake. Other parts of Portugal (and, indeed, of Europe), especially Setubal and the Algarves, were seriously injured on that eventful occasion. With regard to the loss of life occasioned by this catastrophe, it was calculated that, in the city of Lisbon alone, 30,000 persons perished by fire or water, or were buried under the ruins. For four days the city continued a prey to the flames, during which period violent shocks were repeated at various intervals.

"Among the buildings destroyed, were the magnificent palace of the Patriarch, built by Dom John V.; the royal palace; and churches and convents without number; while of private palaces and common dwelling-houses overthrown, some idea may be formed from the fact that entire streets became one mass of ruins. It was estimated that seven millions sterling could scarcely repay the damage done by this dreadful visitation, though some

of the treasure of the Patriarchate was recovered, among which was a silver cross valued at £30,000, while no less than 1,500 arrobas * of silver were dug out of the ruins of that and other edifices some time after the earthquake.

"When this catastrophe occurred, the royal family were fortunately at the small palace of Belem in the suburbs of Lisbon. Their consternation was great; the whole court was in tears. The king, looking round in silence upon his trembling attendants, addressed himself to Pombal, who (hastening to offer what assistance and consolation he could at that awful moment) had just entered the palace. 'What is to be done,' exclaimed Dom Joseph, 'to meet this infliction of Divine Justice?' 'Bury the dead, and feed the living,' † was the calm and immediate reply of Pombal, whose noble figure and collected demeanour commanded the admiration of all around him, as he uttered this concise reply. From this time, it is said, Dom Joseph looked upon his minister as a mortal of superior mould. — Vol. I., pp. 87 – 92.

After order had been somewhat restored, the Jesuits, the old enemies of the minister, began to assail him again with the weapons of superstition, declaring that this great calamity was a just punishment inflicted by heaven upon the impiety and sacrilege of Pombal and his supporters. Unfortunately for them, they rashly predicted a repetition of the earthquake the following year; but when their prophecy was falsified by the event, their cause was fatally injured in the popular estimation, and they were overwhelmed with ridicule. The minister took advantage of the opportunity to rebuild the ruined parts of the city on a more regular plan; a public garden was laid out; handsome squares were constructed; and all the buildings of any great pretensions now existing in Lisbon were planned or executed by him.

Among the measures which distinguished this period of Pombal's administration, two may be selected of special importance for their influence on the industry and character of the country; these are the formation of the celebrated Oporto Wine Company, and the expulsion of the Jesuits. The former, though a monopoly possessing great privileges, acted most beneficially on one of the leading branches of Portuguese industry and trade; the other was a bold, wise, and successful measure, or rather series of measures, to relieve the country from the insidious and hateful domination of a

* An arroba is 32 lbs.

† Senhor, enterrar os mortos, e cuidar os vivos.

powerful and corrupt body of ecclesiastics. They had established themselves in Portugal in 1540, in the reign of John the Third. By degrees they silently and stealthily secured the confidence of the royal family; they obtained control of the University of Coimbra; their numbers, at first limited by a papal bull to sixty, increased without restriction, under the authority of another bull granted in 1543; they extended their power to the Portuguese colonies, and even aimed to establish an independent government in Paraguay, under the supremacy of the general of the order. Pombal could not remain insensible to the pernicious influence on the country of such an intriguing and ambitious order of men, leagued together by a bond independent of, if not hostile to, the secular government; and he fearlessly set about the dangerous and formidable task of overthrowing them. He persuaded the king to dismiss his confessor, the Jesuit Moreira; he made energetic representations to the pope of their mischievous intrigues and interference in the affairs of the country; and finally succeeded in depriving them of their usurped power, and expelling them from all the Portuguese dominions by a decree issued in October, 1759.

The firm and manly resistance made by Pombal to the pretensions of the court of Rome, soon after the detection and punishment of the Arveiro conspiracy, led to a rupture between the two governments. The causes of dissatisfaction were stated in a long and able manifesto, which the government of Portugal transmitted to Rome. The difficulties between the two courts were not disposed of until the accession of Ganganelli, under the name of Clement the Fourteenth, to the papal chair. A separation of the church had well-nigh been effected by the obstinacy of the papal government on the one hand, and the firmness of the Portuguese minister in resisting ecclesiastical encroachments on the other. But the new pope, a man of greater abilities and sounder views than his predecessor, anxious, moreover, to avoid all schism in the Church, immediately on his elevation, wrote to Pombal, begging him, in urgent terms, to bring about a reconciliation. The relations of the two courts were restored to a footing of cordial amity; and the pope gave the Portuguese minister the most emphatic testimonies of the high respect in which he held his character. The sincerity of his professions was amply proved by his famous bull, bearing date July 21, 1773, suppressing the society of the Jesuits.

We have no space to follow the history of Pombal's administration through the remaining years of the period during which he was at the head of affairs. His vigor was felt through every department of the government; wise reforms were made in the civil, the military, and the naval services; the means of education were enlarged, and the method greatly improved. King Joseph died February 24, 1777, after a reign of twenty-seven years; and with his death terminated the long ministry of Pombal. He soon after retired to the city which bears his name. He was not allowed, however, to pass the remainder of his days in peace. The numerous enemies, whose hostility had been held in check during the life of King Joseph, now busied themselves not only in undoing the effects of his wise policy, but in assailing his character and tarnishing his fame. The queen weakly yielded to these cabals against the great minister, and a severe decree was issued against him in 1781; and thus a remarkable example was given of the ingratitude with which monarchies as well as republics reward their greatest benefactors. Pombal died in 1782, in the eighty-third year of his age. An inscription, delineating in striking terms the great features of his character, was placed upon his tomb; but the government, not satisfied with having harassed the last years of his life with their malicious persecutions, had the incredible meanness to order this just tribute to be erased.

The name of this great statesman forms no small part of the national glory of Portugal. His administration was the last bright period in her history. The treatment he received at the close of his honorable life has left a stigma upon her name; and her career since that time has done but little to obliterate it. The work of Mr. Smith, from which we have chiefly, though not wholly, drawn, is a valuable addition to biographical and political literature. It contains many documents subsidiary to the narrative of events in Pombal's public life, which are also illustrative of the character and history of the times. But the utter insignificance of Portugal at the present day has so far thrown her past history into obscurity, that the career of this great man is now scarcely known, and the public are surprised to be told, that there is any thing of importance in the annals or policy of such a country.

Art. IX. — CRITICAL NOTICES.

1. — *The Waif: a Collection of Poems.* Cambridge: John Owen. 1845. 12mo. pp. 144.

This is an elegant little volume, containing a number of beautiful poems, which have hitherto led a precarious and somewhat vagabond existence on the outskirts of English literature, and have never before been brought into each other's company. They mostly appeal to one mood of the mind, and are distinguished rather by sweetness and delicacy than power. They are intended to soothe more than to stir. A serene sadness, a melancholy fringed with light, a kind of nun-like saintliness of tone and demeanour, are their general characteristics. The fine "Proem" of Professor Longfellow indicates their prominent features, and the condition of mind which they address. They are intended for those hours when we are oppressed by an indefinable sadness, a restless and powerless discontent with the things about us; when we are conscious of aspirations tied down by human weakness, and have the desire, but not the ability, to soar; —

> "A feeling of sadness and longing,
> That is not akin to pain,
> And resembles sorrow only
> As the mist resembles the rain."

To a person who reads the poems in another mood of mind, they may appear too tame, uniform, and gentle; for they come, —

> "Not from the grand old masters,
> Not from the bards sublime,
> Whose distant footsteps echo
> Through the corridors of time";—

but,

> "from some humbler poet,
> Whose songs gushed from his heart,
> As showers from the clouds of summer,
> Or tears from the eyelids start;
>
> "Who, through long days of labor,
> And nights devoid of ease,
> Still heard in his soul the music
> Of wonderful melodies.
>
> "Such songs have power to quiet
> The restless pulse of care,
> And come like the benediction
> That follows after prayer."

2. — *Conversations on some of the Old Poets.* By James Russell Lowell. Cambridge: John Owen. 1845. 12mo. pp. 263.

These Conversations, as Mr. Lowell states in his "Address to the Reader," lay no claim to the dramatic character. The dialogue form is adopted as a convenient medium through which the opinions of the author may be conveyed. A part of the matter of the book was published, in a different shape, some years since, in a magazine. The writer is an enthusiastic student of the old English poetry. His own poetical style is deeply tinged with the coloring drawn from it; his prose style, also, is enriched and invigorated by the same healthful influence. Though sparkling with too many ornaments, it is generally tasteful and elegant. He chooses his words as Allston chose his colors; and a page of his writing, in the best passages of this work, has the effect of an exquisite picture. Style has evidently been an object on which he has severely exercised his fine powers; and the rich fruits of his manly labors are apparent, we had almost said, more profusely in his prose than in his poetry.

The first and most elaborate of these Conversations is on the writings of Chaucer, who seems to be one of Mr. Lowell's prime favorites, as he must be of all persons of poetic sensibility, who have taken the pains to pierce through the rough outside to the rich and flavorous core. The criticisms on this racy old Londoner are conceived and written with an appreciating warmth of sympathy, which carries the reader pleasantly along the full tide of the critic's enthusiastic eloquence. We hardly know where to look for so thorough and intelligent, as well as so loving, an exposition of the old master. The passages quoted from Chaucer are slightly altered in orthography and phrase; but, although for ourselves we prefer the *ipsissima verba* of the noble old poet to any that may diminish their racy rudeness, it is but justice to the exquisite tact and keen perception of Mr. Lowell to say, that his translations, if such they may be called, preserve the very spirit and flavor, if not the very form and pressure, of the ancient English; and for the purpose which he had in view, it was better, perhaps, to present them in this form, than to take them in their original roughness. All that the critic says, in passing judgment on the transformations of Chaucer by Dryden and Pope, is perfectly true.

The two succeeding dialogues are on the old dramatists, and particularly on Chapman and Ford. They are marked by a fineness, tact, and sympathizing discrimination, similar to that so

admirably displayed in the discussions on Chaucer; and the passages quoted from their writings cannot fail to excite the reader to make himself further acquainted with them.

The discursive style, permissible in the dialogue, has given Mr. Lowell an opportunity to introduce a number of side discussions, and to throw out a variety of *obiter dicta*, which will not meet with the same degree of approbation as the criticism on the old poets. The uniform and systematic disparagement of Pope is an instance of narrowness into which a man of generous culture ought not to have allowed himself to fall. It is a one-sided and partial judgment, of a character precisely similar to that of the critic who should deny all merit to Chaucer because Chaucer is unlike Pope, or to Gray because Gray is unlike either. Mr. Lowell sometimes condescends to indulge in sneers. A sneer is always unjust and in very bad taste. The "church" comes in for the largest share of his contempt, and the critics next. The ordinary bad taste of a sneer is, in the former instance, increased by its being applied sweepingly to a whole body, and that, too, a body united not by the bonds of any worldly interest, but by the highest concerns of the immortal soul. Mr. Lowell repeatedly declares his contempt for satire and the satirists; but satire, unamiable as it is, is far less repulsive than a sneer. To speak lightly of what has been long held sacred, and to offend the sincere convictions of men by stinging phrases, do not prove the superior wisdom or the higher honesty of the utterer, but only that he thinks more highly of himself than he ought. As to the critics, that is a matter for the assailant and the assailed to settle between themselves.

Questions of art are sometimes decided by Mr. Lowell in an off-hand manner, which those who know the least about the subject are the most likely to adopt. The beautiful piece of sculpture executed by Mr. Crawford for the Boston Athenæum — one of the very few works which we have in the United States in the highest classical style of the art — is "put down" by an unanswerable sneer concerning Lemprière's Classical Dictionary; and the great æsthetic question of drapery in sculpture — a question which may well require long study and profound consideration to settle it on its true grounds — is quite summarily despatched, by the usual cant about the improbability of General Washington appearing in a Roman dress before an assembly of his countrymen; as if sculpture, ancient or modern, were called upon to perpetuate the conceptions of the tailor, the shoemaker, and the hatter; and as if the pig-tail, the cocked-hat, and the breeches, which have so ludicrously disguised the dignity of the

human form in modern times, must be rendered perdurable, by being sent down to posterity in the eternal marble. The mistake arises from confounding drapery with dress, two things essentially different, and not more different now than they were in the highest bloom of Grecian art. The one is a matter of art, and wholly subservient to artistic effect; the other a matter of personal convenience, and shifting in form and fashion every day. The young gentlemen of Athens no more appeared in the streets in the dresses of the immortal Panathenaic procession on the friezes of the Parthenon, than they rode living horses unsaddled and unbridled, as those figures bestride their marble steeds.

We dwell on these points the more, because Mr. Lowell, in the exuberant confidence of his youthful genius, has, by yielding to the lower and more pugnacious part of his nature, disturbed the delightful effect which his hearty and genial book would otherwise have produced. Cant of all sorts is in the worst taste; he has run away from one sort of it, to fall occasionally into another. The cant of singularity and contempt, the cant of despising established things and settled convictions, merely because they are established and settled, is quite as unworthy of the true man of genius, as the cant of uncompromising conservatism.

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3. — *The Magic Goblet, or the Consecration of the Church of Hammarby.* By Mrs. Emilie Carlen. Translated from the original Swedish. New York. 1845.

We have shared in the pleasure so generally diffused in this country by the writings of Frederika Bremer; but if her stories have opened the door for an inundation of such novels as this, we could earnestly wish that her name had never reached our shores. Mrs. Carlen is not destitute of invention. She has made machinery enough, but has forgotten to supply a sufficient motive power. We have followed the development of the narrative with constantly increasing dislike; it is all a wild phantasmagoria of unmixed and unaccountable evil. The good spirit which, in some shape, everywhere prevails in the productions of Miss Bremer, and in whose protection for our favorites we have learned to confide, is, in Mrs. Carlen's wisdom, left out of the account. Evil predominates, and admiring virtue bows before it. Among other scenes described are some love passages with a married man who makes no concealment of his guilt, which are an outrage on all womanly delicacy; and an accidental meeting between the noble and deserted "wife and the beloved," — the

heroine, who has watched and waited for her ruin, and who has come to receive vows of eternal fidelity from the husband of another woman. There is a murder, too; and this same husband, the prime cause of all the wrong, is blessed in the conviction, that a beautiful girl, another victim, is at least happy in the "consciousness of dying in his arms." This hero may well put to shame the worst of Bulwer's highwaymen; and it may be doubted if the vilest of his works has brought to our unguarded homes a more dangerous lesson than that which is taught through the whole book of this Swedish authoress.

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4. — 1. *An Address delivered before the Mercantile Library Association of Boston, November* 13, 1844. By Thomas G. Cary. Boston: Little & Brown. 1845. 8vo. pp. 39.

2. *The Result of Manufactures at Lowell: a Letter from the Treasurer of a Corporation to John S. Pendleton, Esq., Virginia.* By Thomas G. Cary. Boston. 1845. 8vo. pp. 23.

These two pamphlets by Mr. Cary are marked by the general characteristics which were displayed in his famous "Letter to a Lady in France." They are written in a style of great ease, elegance, and perspicuity; and the subjects of which they treat are handled with the practical clearness and good sense of the man of affairs, and with the grace which the cultivation of art and literature sheds over the daily occupations of busy life.

The lecture delivered before the Mercantile Library Association is on the general subject of the dependence of the fine arts, for encouragement in a republic, on the security of property; and subsidiary to this comprehensive topic is an inquiry into the causes of frequent failure among men of business. In illustration of the practicability of cultivating a taste for the fine arts in our tumultuous democracy, Mr. Cary relates the history of a man whose business, one would suppose, lay among the most unpoetical and least æsthetic pursuits that can be imagined. If any form of active life is unfavorable to the cultivation of a taste for the fine arts, most people would unhesitatingly say it is the life of a grocer. And yet this gentleman, Mr. Luman Reed, although dying in the prime of life, left "a collection of paintings, engravings, shells, and other objects of beauty and interest altogether so valuable, that it is proposed to make them the com-

mencement of a public gallery in New York"; and he left, proceeds the lecturer, "an establishment in business, conducted on principles so secure, that it has been a school of industrious success to younger men, who owe their prosperity mainly to him."

The remainder of the lecture abounds in wise practical suggestions to business men, which contain the results of long and careful observation and much experience in the management of extensive commercial affairs. The excellence of the matter and the transparent beauty of the style harmonize well together.

The letter on the Lowell manufactures is a plain and perspicuous statement of facts which all may understand. It removes the clouds of darkness which in the public mind have long overhung the subject, and proves, beyond the possibility of contradiction, the absurdity of the declamations indulged in by Southern politicians and Northern demagogues, upon the extravagant gains made by the manufacturers. We commend the pamphlet to the attention of all who wish to understand a subject so intimately connected with the prosperity of the country, and about which many of our popular leaders are so ignorant and wrong-headed. We regret that we have no space left for copying some of its luminous statements, which are in themselves most convincing arguments.

5.—*Rules of Proceeding and Debate in Deliberative Assemblies.* By Luther S. Cushing. Boston: William J. Reynolds. 1845.

The oft-quoted maxim, that knowledge is power, is nowhere more strikingly exemplified than in the conduct and proceedings of deliberative assemblies. No man can ever feel his feet firm beneath him, until he has mastered the rules and orders of the body to which he belongs. Without this knowledge, the boldest spirit is checked, and the brightest faculties suffer a partial eclipse. By the help of this knowledge, men of moderate faculties are often able to turn the flank of the most brilliant debater, and to wrest from him the trophies of his eloquence. Dumont, in his agreeable "Recollections of Mirabeau," gives some curious instances of the confusion and loss of time produced in the popular elections in France, just before the convocation of the States General, by the entire ignorance, on the part of the people, of the common forms of organization and procedure. At Montreuil, in particular, where he was breakfasting by chance with Mirabeau and another friend, he was informed by

the host, that two or three days had already been lost in the primary assembly in tumult and disorder, no one knowing what to do or what to propose; and that there was no prospect of their ever coming to shape and order. In a mirthful moment, the thought seized them of making themselves legislators of Montreuil. Pen and paper were called for, and amid peals of laughter a code of procedure was drawn up for the good people of that place, in town-meeting assembled, as we should say. What was done by them in a frolic was taken by their host in sober earnest. Armed with the instructions which his guests had drawn up, he proceeded to the place of meeting, and soon arranged its chaotic elements into an orderly system. To complete the joke, the travellers had the satisfaction of reading in the public prints of Paris, on their return, that the assembly of Montreuil had been the very first in the kingdom to complete their elections, and had earned great commendation on account of the order which had marked their proceedings.

The rules and orders of the English parliament form the basis of those by which all deliberative assemblies in the United States are governed. These are characterized by that wisdom and sagacity which form such prominent traits in the character of the Anglo-Saxon mind, and are so strongly reflected in the history and politics of Great Britain. They are admirably calculated to insure the despatch of business; and though some of them may seem arbitrary and unreasonable, yet, on experience, all will be found to rest upon sound reason. No man can study the history of the English House of Commons, without a deep sense of the wisdom which at all times has marked its proceedings, and which shines no less conspicuously in its rules and orders, than in its debates and enactments.

Mr. Jefferson's "Manual" has long been the standard authority on this subject in the United States, and deservedly so. It is a work of great merit. It is full, clear, and exact. Every thing necessary or desirable may be found somewhere in its pages. As a manual of reference, to lie on the table of a presiding officer, its merits can hardly be surpassed. For this purpose, indeed, — to serve as a guide to the author in his duties as presiding officer of the Senate, — the work was originally compiled. Consequently, the practical element was kept paramount, and no particular care was taken to insure a natural and methodical arrangement. Distinct reference was had in every case to the exigencies and necessities of Congress, and no other assembly was present in the compiler's mind.

The object of Judge Cushing has been to consider the rules for the governing of deliberative assemblies in their most compre-

hensive aspect, and to throw them, as far as possible, into a general formula. In his preface, he states that his treatise "is intended as a manual for deliberative assemblies of every description, but more especially for those which are not legislative in their character; though, with the exception of the principal points in which legislative bodies differ from others, namely, the several different stages or readings of a bill, and conferences and amendments between the two branches, this work will be found equally useful in legislative assemblies as in others."

Judge Cushing has uncommon qualifications for such a work. For many years he discharged the duties of clerk of the House of Representatives of Massachusetts with great fidelity and skill, and became practically familiar, in that capacity, with parliamentary law and practice. The clerk of the House is called upon to preside in the brief interval which elapses between his own election and that of a speaker. This is usually but a few moments; but in the stormy session of 1843, owing to peculiar circumstances, this short space was expanded into several days, during which Judge Cushing won golden opinions from men of all parties by the firmness, dignity, impartiality, and knowledge with which he presided over the angry debates of the House. He sat, day after day, like another Æolus, calm amidst the warring winds of party strife, always vigilant in observation, courteous in manner, and prompt in decision. He guided the House in safety through the mazes of a most intricate and impassioned discussion, which no one could have done who had not at his fingers' ends the details of parliamentary proceeding.

As might have been expected from the character of Judge Cushing's mind, and from the extent of his experience, the treatise which he has compiled is one of peculiar value. It is at once philosophical and practical. The regular distribution of its materials, its luminous method, and the natural order in which the topics are treated, will commend it to those who look upon a book as a work of art, and are not satisfied with the best of matter, unless it be arranged with a master's hand. Minds of this class will also be attracted by the admirable precision and accuracy of the style. It has been the writer's aim, also, wherever practicable, to give the reason of established usages, to trace them back to their origin, and to show the ground on which they were originally made to rest.

The practical value of the treatise also is not less conspicuous. The plan of the work, of course, excludes the consideration of those special rules which each deliberative assembly adopts for its own guidance and government. Its subject is what may be called the common law of deliberative assemblies; those ele-

mentary and essential principles, which regulate the organization and procedure of the town-meeting as well as of the legislature. It gives to the presiding officer an outline of his rights and duties, sufficient in ordinary cases to enable him fully to maintain the former and discharge the latter, and in every case requiring no other filling up than that furnished by the body itself over which he presides.

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6. — *Letters from a Landscape Painter.* By the Author of "Essays for Summer Hours." Boston: James Munroe & Co. 1845. 12mo. pp. 265.

These Letters have many graphic touches, which show the artist eye of their ingenious author. They contain lively sketches of natural scenery, and amusing narratives of travelling incidents. At times, a striking poetical expression flashes upon us, illuminating the page like a gleam of light, as when the clouds that encompass the rising sun, as seen from a mountain-top, are said to be "like a band of cavaliers, preparing to accompany their leader on a journey. Out of the Atlantic have they just risen; at noon, they will have pitched their tents in the cerulean plains of heaven; and when the hours of the day are numbered, the far-off waters of the Pacific will again receive them in its cool embrace." And again, the magnificent view from the summit of Mount Washington is most happily hit off by the bold expression, "an epic landscape." We might make out a long list of similar poetic felicities of phrase.

On the other hand, the style of this writer is often incorrect; his pleasantry and smartness are too studied, and often do not "voluntary move." The interjections and exclamations, with which the Letters are studded over, run quite too often into a flat key; for instance, it makes one shiver to read, at the close of a description of some fine scenery in Vermont, such a lackadaisical platitude as this: "O, the dear, dear women, I verily believe they will be the ruin of me!" The letter-writer should also have been cautious of slandering the memory of a departed poet, by imagining — and imagining such a murder of the king's English is as bad as imagining the king's own death, for which terrible penalties are enacted in the law of treason — by imagining, we repeat, the possibility of Coleridge's perpetrating such a shocking vulgarity as to say, "we *laid* down in our loneliness."

The volume, however, is very readable and pleasant; but the writer can do much better, if he will think a little more of style, and be a little more select in the thoughts which he presents to the public.

7. — *Life of Godfrey William von Leibnitz, on the Basis of the German Work of Dr. G. E. Guhrauer.* By JOHN M. MACKIE. Boston : Gould, Kendall, and Lincoln. 1845. 12mo. pp. 288.

THE remark may be applied in its full force to Leibnitz, which was first uttered, we believe, in regard to a distinguished person of very versatile talents in our own day, that "science was his *forte*, and omniscience his foible." Most readers have some idea of the extent of his researches in mathematics and physics, of the vast stores of his erudition, both classical and scholastic, of his manifold contributions to the sciences of German antiquities and Roman jurisprudence, and of his profound and original, but vague and speculative, system of general philosophy. He attempted every thing, accomplished much, but perfected nothing. The universality of his aims constantly interfered with the thoroughness of his work in any one department of discovery or invention ; and he may be said to have sacrificed the stable reputation of the founder or improver of a particular science, in his pursuit of the glittering, but evanescent, fame of a universal genius. He was often on the verge of making important discoveries, but was stopped on the threshold by his multifarious occupations ; and he consequently had frequent occasion to quarrel with the more patient laborers, who obtained all the glory of success by taking up his vague hints and imperfect sketches, and carrying the investigation resolutely to the end.

Mr. Mackie has rendered good service by giving the English reader a succinct and perspicuous account of the life and writings of Leibnitz. The basis of the book is the biography of him recently published in Germany by Dr. Guhrauer. This work is abridged, divested of its German peculiarities and of much irrelevant matter, and adapted with tact and skill to the wants of students in this country and in England. The translation of the selected parts is remarkably well done; the language being clear, flowing, and correct, and the version sufficiently faithful. To modify the work of a learned German, and thus to adapt it to English use, is a far more valuable service to our countrymen than to give an exact and entire transcript of the original. Few of the ponderous exhibitions of Teutonic industry and learning will bear a faithful version into English with any advantage. Cumbrous alike in form and matter, laden with pedantry, obscure and far-fetched in allusions and illustrations, when imported whole, they are as unpalatable as sour-krout to an Anglo-Saxon taste. The example which Mr. Mackie has set we commend to

the attention of all neophyte translators from the German, of whom we have such a swarm in our climate. We commend his work, also, both to the student of philosophy, and to the general reader who may wish to form some clear notion of the life and services of that great man, who was at once the fellow-laborer of Arnauld and Spinoza, the rival of Newton and Locke, and the progenitor of Kant and Schelling.

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8. — *Thirteenth Annual Report of the Trustees of the Perkins Institution and Massachusetts Asylum for the Blind to the Corporation.* Boston. 1845. 8vo. pp. 78.

No institution has done more honor to the Commonwealth of Massachusetts, than the asylum for the blind, at South Boston. It has been fortunate in its inception, fortunate in its progress, fortunate in its results: but it has been thrice fortunate in having enjoyed from the beginning the services of the distinguished gentleman who has superintended its affairs. Dr. Howe's achievements in the cause of humanity it would be idle and almost presumptuous to praise; but we may be allowed to say, and we are sure the whole world will respond to the assertion, that the education of a mind from which all knowledge was quite shut out, save by a single avenue, and that the narrowest of all, is a grand result of the application of genius, and patient thought, and disinterested devotion to the relief of suffering humanity, which has for the first time been exhibited to the admiring contemplation of mankind. It is a deed that will make the doer's name dear to the coming ages; it is one in whose great light the ordinary results of human intellect and industry shrink into comparative insignificance.

The Report of the last year is one of the most interesting that have yet been made. After an exposition of the state of the institution, follows an Appendix, containing a series of communications from Dr. Howe, which will be read with the liveliest curiosity. The first is a continuation of the history of Laura Bridgman, and embodies some particulars in the development of her moral and intellectual nature, which will be likely to attract the closest attention of philosophical minds. The religious public have looked with profound interest to her case, hoping to draw from it some light to clear up the dark questions of speculative faith; and the injudicious ardor of some religious zealots has led them, as it appears by this paper, to thwart, to a cer-

tain extent, in the absence of Dr. Howe, the scheme of moral training which he had traced out. It is to be lamented, that, in such a peculiar case, the right purposes of piety should have been guided by so wrong a judgment; but the improper tampering with the poor girl's religious nature has had at least the good effect of convincing all, of whatever faith, that the attempt to make Laura comprehend the great truths of the Christian religion through the metaphorical and symbolical language in which sectarians see fit to clothe their faith must prove, in the present state of her mental development, not only wholly unsuccessful, but exceedingly dangerous. The wisdom of Dr. Howe's plan, and the soundness of his views, could not have been more satisfactorily demonstrated; and it is to be hoped, that, henceforth, inexperienced zealots will keep their clumsy hands off from a work that requires suchinfinite tact and delicacy.

The case of Oliver Caswell is scarcely, if at all, less interesting than that of Laura Bridgman. The third paper in the Appendix is a long and very interesting letter by Dr. Howe, detailing the particulars in the case of a deaf, dumb, and blind woman, which fell under his observation at Gosport, England. This is followed by an account of an institution in Bruges, where a person suffering the same privations as Laura Bridgman is in the successful process of education, by the same methods of teaching. Several other interesting and affecting cases are briefly described, and with them the Report closes.

There is one part of the machinery of education in this institution, which deserves the particular attention of the public; and that is the printing. More books for the blind have come from the South Boston press, than from all other institutions in England and the United States together. The expenses of this operation have been defrayed wholly by money obtained from liberal gentlemen, by the private solicitation of the superintendent. But no printing has been executed during the past year, for want of funds. It is stated, however, that the director has just put to press a work on natural philosophy, and that he has commenced a "Cyclopædia for the Blind," of which four or five volumes will be published during the year, if sufficient aid can be procured. It cannot be doubted, that so noble an object will meet the favorable notice of the charitable citizens of Boston, and that the needful funds will at once be raised, without adding to the responsible and absorbing labors of the director the task of going from door to door to collect the contributions of the generous. Let an effort be made to place this most important department on a permanent and liberal basis, by the concerted action of the humane. Some of the overflowing wealth of Boston may well

be made to run in this direction; and surely no better use can be made of the bounteous gifts with which our city is blessed, than in blessing the blind, the deaf, and the dumb, by enlarging the boundaries of their knowledge.

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9. — 1. *Journal of Prison Discipline and Philanthropy.* Published under the Direction of the Philadelphia Society for the Alleviation of the Miseries of Public Prisons. Vol. I. No. I. January, 1845. Philadelphia. 8vo. pp. 96.
2. *First Report of the Prison Association of New York.* December, 1844. New York. 8vo. pp. 63.

We have no room to go into even a statement of the deeply interesting subjects discussed in these two pamphlets. The one first mentioned is the commencement of a periodical publication, particularly occupied with expounding the principles of the Philadelphia system of prison discipline. A controversy has for some time existed, as the public well know, upon the respective merits of the Philadelphia and Auburn systems; and the cause of truth and justice and humanity, as well as of policy, is deeply concerned in having both sides of the question illustrated by all the light that their advocates can throw upon them. It is, therefore, a fit subject of congratulation, that the able advocates of the Pennsylvania penitentiaries have taken this mode of explaining and defending their views.

The second pamphlet is a very satisfactory report of the Prison Association recently established in New York. Besides the constitution of the Society, it contains a collection of valuable statistics, which deserve the attention of the public, and have an important bearing upon the questions as to the proper treatment of crime and criminals.

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10. — *The Odyssey of Homer, according to the Text of Wolf, with Notes; for the Use of Schools and Colleges.* By J. J. Owen, Principal of the Cornelius Institute. New York: Leavitt, Trow, & Co. 1845. 12mo. pp. 516.

We have examined this edition of the "Odyssey" with considerable care, and great satisfaction with the manner in which Mr.

Owen has performed his editorial labor. The excellent edition of the "Anabasis," published some time since by the same able scholar, and noticed in this Journal, had prepared the public to receive the "Odyssey" with approbation. It will fully bear out the expectations which Mr. Owen's previous work had excited. The Greek text is neatly and carefully printed; a map of Ithaca, after Leake, is prefixed; two hundred pages of notes in English are appended; and these are followed by a very convenient grammatical index and an index of persons. We have carefully read a large portion of the notes, and it is but justice to the accomplished editor, who is also one of the most distinguished classical teachers in our country, to say, that they are excellently adapted to the instruction of the young classical scholars for whom they were designed. They are learned without pedantry, and concise without obscurity; and they abound in elegant criticism. The points of real difficulty are treated with perspicuity, and the best sources of illustration have been conscientiously used.

For the first time, a useful and scholarlike edition of the most delightful narrative poem of antiquity has appeared in the United States; and the favorable reception it has met with is a good omen for the cause of ancient literature among us.

NEW PUBLICATIONS RECEIVED.

Rural Economy in its Relations with Chemistry, Physics, and Meteorology; or Chemistry applied to Agriculture. By J. B. Boussingault, Member of the Institute of France, etc. Translated, with an Introduction and Notes, by George Law, Agriculturist. New York: D. Appleton & Co. 1845. 12mo. pp. 507.

The Life and Correspondence of Thomas Arnold, D. D., late Head-Master of Rugby School, and Regius Professor of Modern History in the University of Oxford. By Arthur Penrhyn Stanley, M. A. First American from the Third English Edition. New York: D. Appleton & Co. 1845. 12mo. pp. 516.

Stable Economy: a Treatise on the Management of Horses, in Relation to Stabling, Grooming, Feeding, Watering, and Working. By John Stewart. From the Third English Edition, with Notes and Additions, adapting it to American Food and Climate. By A. B. Allen. New York: D. Appleton & Co. 1845. 12mo. pp. 378.

Latin Lessons and Reader, with Exercises for the Writing of Latin; introductory to Andrews and Stoddard's Latin Grammar, and to Nepos or Cæsar, and Krebs's Guide. By Allen H. Weld, A. M. Second Edition, enlarged. Andover: Allen, Morrill, and Wardwell. 1845. 12mo. pp. 231.

Correspondence of Mr. Ralph Izard, of South Carolina, from the Year 1774 to 1804; with a short Memoir. Vol. I. New York: Charles S. Francis & Co. 1844. 12mo. pp. 390.

A Treatise upon the Diseases and Hygiene of the Organs of the Voice. By Colombat de l'Isère. Translated by J. F. W. Lane, M. D. Boston: Otis, Broaders, & Co. 1845. 12mo. pp. 220.

An Elementary Treatise on Arithmetic, designed as an Introduction to Peirce's Course of Pure Mathematics, and as a Sequel to the Arithmetics used in High Schools. By Thomas Hill. Boston: James Munroe & Co. 1845. 12mo. pp. 85.

Historical Sketches of O'Connell and his Friends, with a Glance at the Future Destiny of Ireland. By Thomas D. McGee. Boston: Donahoe and Rowan. 1845. 12mo. pp. 205.

Twelfth Annual Report of the Trustees of the State Lunatic Hospital at Worcester. December, 1844. 8vo. pp. 112.

The Relation of Christianity to Politics: a Discourse delivered on the Day of Public Thanksgiving, Nov. 28, 1844. By William Hague, Pastor of the Church in Federal Street, Boston. Boston: W. D. Ticknor & Co. 12mo. pp. 32.

The Present Means of Suppressing Intemperance: an Address delivered at Fitchburg, before the Washington Total Abstinence Society. By Charles Mason. Fitchburg: S. & C. Shepley. 1845. 12mo. pp. 22.

Remarks upon the Controversy between Massachusetts and South Carolina. By a Friend to the Union. Boston: Crosby and Nichols. 1845. 8vo. pp. 21.

An Introductory Discourse on Medical Education, delivered to the Students of Geneva Medical College, October 1, 1844. By Charles A. Lee, M. D. Geneva: Ira Merrell. 8vo. pp. 40.

The Claims of Religion upon Medical Men: a Discourse delivered in Philadelphia, Nov. 24, 1844. By H. A. Boardman. Third Edition. Philadelphia: J. B. Ellis. 8vo. pp. 24.

The Southern and Western Monthly Magazine and Review. Edited by W. Gilmore Simms. January, 1845. Charleston: Burges and James. 1845. 8vo. pp. 72.

Justice to the Memory of John Fitch, who, in 1785, invented a Steam Engine and Steamboat. By Charles Whittlesey. Cincinnati. 1845. 8vo. pp. 12.

The Stay and the Staff taken away: a Discourse occasioned by the Death of Hon. William Prescott, LL. D., delivered in the Church on Church Green, Dec. 15, 1844. By Alexander Young. Boston: Little & Brown. 8vo. pp. 34.

Discourse on the Two Hundredth Anniversary of the Birth of William Penn, delivered Oct. 24, 1844, before the Historical Society of Pennsylvania. By Job R. Tyson, one of the Vice-Presidents. Philadelphia: John Penington. 8vo. pp. 40.

The House of God: a Discourse delivered before the Second Presbyterian Church of Mobile, Ala., Nov. 21, 1844. By W. A. Scott, D. D. New Orleans: W. H. Foy. 8vo. pp. 40.

Third Annual Report to the Legislature relating to the Registry and Returns of Births, Marriages, and Deaths in Massachusetts, for the Year ending May 1, 1844. By John G. Palfrey, Secretary to the Commonwealth. Boston: Dutton & Wentworth. 1845. 8vo. pp. 110.

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JUN 7 1939